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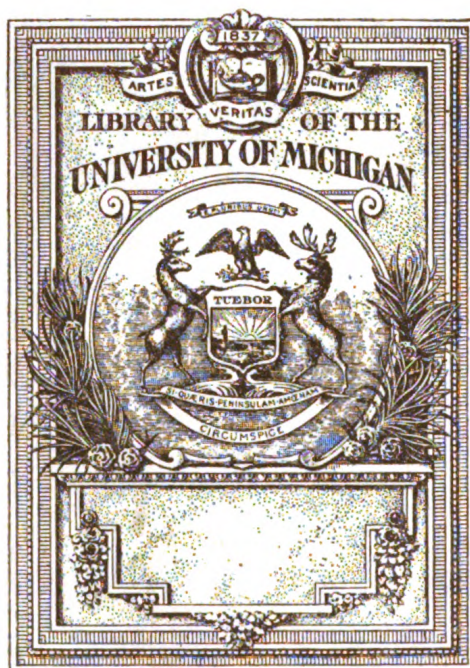
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AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE
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1912.



EDITED BY
W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.,
AND
P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.



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ANCIENT GAULISH COINS, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

BY BERNARD ROTH, F.S.A.

ABOUT seven years ago I bought from the executors of the late Mr. Henry Willett, of Brighton, some thirty or more gold coins of the Ancient Britons, found near Selsey Bill and upon the adjoining coast of Sussex. Amongst them was a coin which I failed to identify. I therefore sent it to the late Sir John Evans, who informed me that it was a coin of the Treviri, a Gaulish tribe of the North of France. At the same time he strongly advised me, if I wished to thoroughly master ancient British coins, to pay some attention to the coinage of the ancient Gauls as there was an intimate connection between them. The outcome of that thoughtful and kind advice is now given in this paper.

It is doubtful whether the gold rings and torques which have been found in Gaul as well as in Great Britain and Ireland were really intended for currency or only used as ornaments. If really coins, they were far more ancient, by hundreds of years, than any of those about to be described.

According to Monsieur Adrien Blanchet, the learned author of the *Traité des Monnaies Gauloises*, 1905, the gold stater of Philip of Macedon, which was issued between 359 and 336 B.C., rapidly became known throughout the Greek States and was soon introduced into Gaul by means of the world-wide trade of the Greek Colony of Marseilles. Its first imitation by the Gauls was issued, probably, between 300 and 250 B.C. Much of the silver coinage is of a later date, and was a more or less servile copy of that of the Romans, and commenced about 74 B.C. The bronze or copper coinage began before that of the silver and after the gold. The town of Marseilles (*Massalia*),

which was founded about 600 B.C., issued a large silver currency which became degraded in the course of centuries, but it can scarcely be classed as strictly belonging to the Gaulish series although a whole chapter is given to it in Monsieur Blanchet's work. I will only describe one typical coin of *Massalia*, Plate I, FIG. 1 (*Atlas*, Pl. IV, 956¹), which was issued about 250 B.C.—

Obverse.—Diademed and draped bust of Artemis to the right, with bow and quiver behind her neck; the whole within a beaded circle.

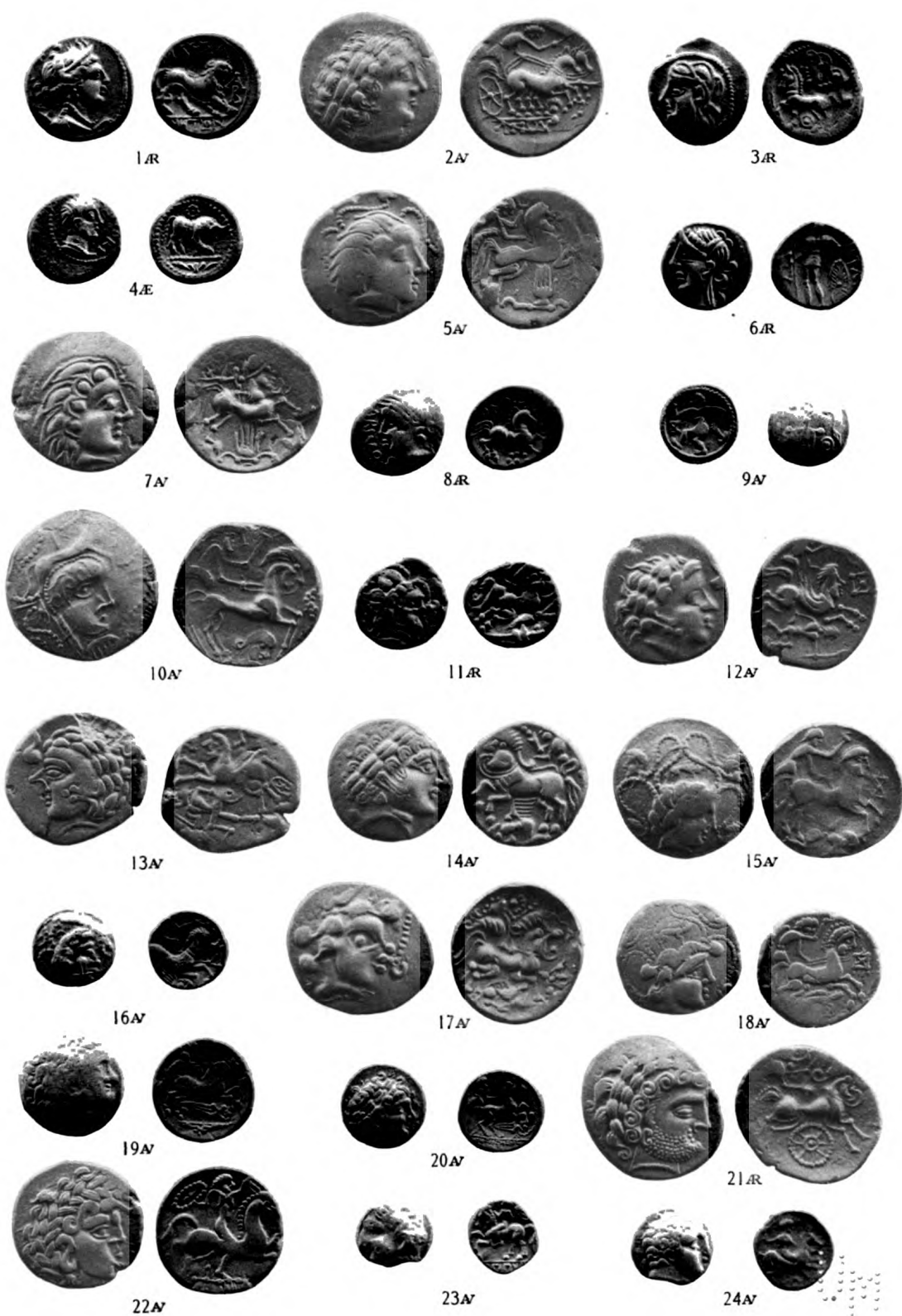
Reverse.—Lion walking to the right; above, legend ΜΑΣΣΑ; in front A above B, and below the exergual line (Λ)ΙΗΤΩΝ, the whole within a plain outer circle: of fine silver; weight 43·7 grains.

Gallia Transalpina, usually called *Gallia* or *Gaul*, is the land bounded by the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, the Atlantic, and the Rhine, viz., modern France and Belgium with parts of Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. Closely allied Celtic tribes, that lived in Central Europe in the valley of the Danube, also issued a distinct coinage which will be described later on. Modern writers on ancient Gaul agree that in most cases the boundaries of the numerous dioceses, into which modern France is divided, correspond more or less roughly with those of the various Gaulish tribes which inhabited the country; and I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the work of Mr. T. Rice Holmes, *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul*, second edition, Clarendon Press, 1911, for most of the geographical details in this paper.

I. THE COINAGE OF WESTERN GAUL.—This includes the district which is bounded on the north by the River Loire, on the west by the Bay of Biscay, and on the south by the River Garonne. The following tribes inhabited Western Gaul, viz. :—

1. The Lemovices.
2. The Petrocorii.
3. The Pictones.

¹ *Atlas de Monnaies Gauloises*, par Henri De La Tour, Paris, 1892.



GAULISH COINS.

Plate



4. The Santoni.
5. The Namnetes and Andecavi.
6. The Auleri Cenomani and Auleri Diablintes.

1. The LEMOVICES inhabited the south-eastern portion of this district and "possessed the dioceses of Limoges and of Tulle, which latter was severed in 1318 from the ancient diocese of Limoges. This territory corresponds roughly with the departments of the Haute-Vienne, Corrèze, and Creuse." FIG. 2 (*Traité*, Pl. I, 9¹) is a fine and rare gold stater easily recognized as a copy of the coin of Philip of Macedon—

Obverse.—A fairly well designed head of Apollo to the right; eight leaves of the laurel wreath lie behind the front locks of hair, which are beginning to assume the form of crescents; the ear is represented by three pellets.

Reverse.—A Victory driving with reins two mule-like horses in front of a six-spoked wheel; under the horses is a degraded mint-mark which has been variously described as a flower or as the full-faced head of the sun; in the exergue are the Greek letters ΑΩΟV: of fine yellow gold; weight 117·5 grains. (Lot 238, Stroehlin Sale.)

The following silver coin, FIG. 3 (*Traité*, Fig. 166), is attributed to the Lemovices:—

Obverse.—Head to the left with the hair arranged in three compartments, and the ear well indicated; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A horse walking to the left; above, a large human head to the left, very similar to that on the obverse, but with the hair in two compartments only, to which is attached a reversed letter S—scroll; below the horse is a ring-ornament²: of good silver; weight 31·6 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

2. The PETROCORII inhabited the most southern portion of Western Gaul, and their territory "comprised the modern diocese of Périgueux and that of Sarlat, which was severed from the ancient diocese in the sixteenth century. This territory is nearly identical with the department of the Dordogne." Some base and coarsely

¹ *Traité des Monnaies Gauloises*, par Adrien Blanchet, Paris, 1905.

² This term is here, and elsewhere, used to denote an annulet enclosing a pellet.

executed gold staters, with a head to the left on the obverse and a boar on the reverse, have been attributed to the Petrocorii. The only specimen I have belonging to them is a finely executed bronze coin, FIG. 4 (*Atlas*, Pl. XII, 4349)—

Obverse.—A well-shaped head to the right with a pearl collar on the neck, and in front the legend (ATE)CTORI; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—An ox with a beaded girth moving to the right; above is a beaded ring-ornament, and below the exergual line is a spreading flower-pattern, the whole within a beaded circle: of yellow bronze; weight 22·4 grains.

3. The PICTONES occupied the centre of Western Gaul, their district extending to the Bay of Biscay, and corresponding with the ancient diocese "of Poitiers, from which the cantons of Retz and Manges were transferred to the dioceses of Nantes and Angers respectively, and the dioceses of Luçon and Maillezais were severed in 1317. . . . Roughly speaking there would then remain for the Pictones the departments of the Vendée, Deuxsèvres, and Vienne." The following coins are attributed to them. FIG. 5 (*Traité*, Fig. 176, *Var.*) is a pale gold stater :—

Obverse.—A well-shaped human head to the right with the hair arranged in six pigtails behind and four solid crescents in front; around the head are four wavy cords of pearls.

Reverse.—A coarsely designed man-headed horse springing to the right and driven by a Victory holding a wreath; below is a human hand with thumb to the right, placed on an exergual line with an arc at each end: weight 104·3 grains.

The following slightly cupped silver denier, FIG. 6 (*Atlas*, Pl. XIII, 4484), is also attributed to the Pictones :—

Obverse.—Head of Venus to the left, her hair bound with a double fillet.

Reverse.—A warrior standing, holding with the right hand a spear to which is attached on the outer side a boar-standard, his left hand rests on an ornamental oval shield, above and around the shield is the legend VIIPOTAL: of fine silver; weight 29·7 grains.

4. The SANTONI inhabited "the dioceses of Saintes and Angoulême and the Pays d'Aunis, in other words, the departments of the Charente and Charente-Inférieure and part of the Gironde." The following stater of extremely base gold or electrum, FIG. 7 (*Traité*, Fig. 186), belongs to them :—

Obverse.—Human head to the right with the hair arranged in five pigtails or meshes behind four thin crescents with concavities to the face, each enclosing a large pellet; around are wavy lines.

Reverse.—A very coarsely designed man-headed horse with indications of a Victory above; below is a human hand springing from a line with an arc at each end: weight 90·3 grains. (Lot 287, Stroehlin Sale.) In some specimens the letters S A are alongside the hand.

The silver denier of good metal, FIG. 8 (*Traité*, Fig. 188), also belongs to this tribe—

Obverse.—Helmeted head to the left, the helmet being composed of three slightly curved rods pointed in front and terminating behind in a ring-ornament, below which are three crescents; in front of the face is the legend ARIVOS reading from above downwards; the whole within a beaded border.

Reverse.—A horse, galloping to the right, with two collars, one at the root of the neck and the other behind the shoulders; in front and above is the legend SANTONO reading from right to left with the bases of the letters towards the edge of the coin, below is a ring-ornament composed of pellets: weight 25·6 grains.

5. The NAMNETES and ANDECAVI "occupied the ancient diocese of Nantes, or that portion of the department of the Loire-Inférieure which lies on the right bank of the Loire, and is bounded on the north-east by the River Semnon."

FIG. 9¹ (*Traité*, Fig. 4) is a third of a gold stater attributed to the Namnetes—

Obverse.—Occupying the centre is a peculiar object, like a gridiron with a long handle, to which is attached a wavy line ending in a pellet; on the right is a ring-ornament and a reversed S-shaped object ending above in a pellet and below in a lozenge with a cross bar.

In the illustration the positions of the obverse and reverse should be transposed.

Reverse.—A human figure walking to the left with a horizontal wavy ornament at the back of the head ; the left arm, holding a hammer, is directed downwards and backwards, while the right arm, directed forwards and upwards, grasps an object resembling the head of a bishop's crozier ; below the right elbow is an object like an hour glass : of fine gold ; weight 31·2 grains. (Lot 268, Stroehlin Sale.)

To the Andecavi is attributed the following interesting stater of fine gold, FIG. 10, of which I know of no other specimen :—

Obverse.—A well-shaped head to the right with a vertically striated gorget on the neck ; above the hair, represented by two horizontal S's and a beaded line, is a peculiarly long bodied and rat-tailed animal to the right, the hind leg ending in three claws ; around the whole are four wavy lines beaded.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse to the right driven with reins by a Victory holding a whip ; below the horse is a human head to the right with the hair ending in a pigtail : weight 114·5 grains. (Lot 263, Stroehlin Sale.)

A denier of debased silver, or billon, is also assigned to the Andecavi, FIG. 11 (*Traité*, Fig. 191)—

Obverse.—Coarsely executed head to the right with the hair arranged in eight large locks ; the whole surrounded by wavy lines of pellets

Reverse.—A coarsely designed man-headed horse galloping to the right driven by a Victory : below are the head and shoulders of a man with outstretched arms : weight 24·8 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

6. The AULERCI CENOMANI and the AULERCI DIABLINTES occupied, it is believed, the diocese of Le Mans and "their territory corresponded roughly with the department of the Sarthe." The following gold coins are attributed to the Aulerici Cenomani, FIG. 12. (*Atlas*, Plate XXIII, 6852.)—

Obverse.—A well-shaped head to the right with the hair and wreath exhibiting signs of degenerated art, the ear being represented by three pellets on the cheek, with two lines each connected with a lock of hair ; there is also a detached lock of hair in front of the forehead.

Reverse.—A winged man-headed horse moving to the right, with indications above of a Victory, one of whose arms is prolonged by a wavy line to a square enclosing a cross with central pellet; below the horse is a fallen warrior to the right, holding a spear in the left and lower hand, and a short curved dagger in the right hand: of fine gold; weight 115 grains. (Lot 1, O'Hagan Sale.)

FIG. 13 (*Atlas*, Plate XXIII, 6870, *Var.*) is another very similar gold stater, but the head on the *obverse* is to the left with the wreath merged in the locks of hair. On the *reverse* the man-headed horse and the fallen warrior are also to the left; a small oval wheel is placed under the horse's tail: of rather debased gold; weight 100.5 grains. (Lot 2, O'Hagan Sale.)

FIG. 14 (*Traité*, Fig. 195) is a stater of pure gold, or electrum—

Obverse.—A fairly good head to the right with the wreath well indicated; most of the locks of hair are represented by double crescents: the three pellets in the place of the ear are joined by three lines to the same crescent.

Reverse.—A well designed man-headed horse to the left with a collar and reins, the latter held by a dislocated and rudely shaped Victory; below the horse is a prostrate human figure, winged, to the left: weight 105.8 grains.

FIG. 15 (*Atlas*, Plate XXIII, 6826) is a stater of fine gold, which resembles the coins assigned to the Aremoric tribes—

Obverse.—A small and well-shaped head to the right in the lower half of the coin: above the head is a boar, to the right, under an arch composed of two loops of pearls; each loop ends near the margin of the field in a minute human head looking away from the larger head; on either side of the latter are two pearly loops each ending again in a minute human head similarly arranged.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse being driven to the right by a tolerably well-designed Victory above an oval wheel: in front of the horse is a square with cross and central pellet; below is a fallen human figure, winged, to the right: weight 120.6 grains.

The following quarter-stater of fine gold is also attributed to the Aulerci Cenomani, FIG. 16. (*Atlas*, Plate XXIV, 6895)—

Obverse.—A human head to the right surrounded by four loops of pearls ; the cheek has been (?) defaced by a large cross cut in the die ; opposite the end of the left horizontal arm of the cross is the letter S.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse prancing to the right and driven by a Victory whose uplifted arm is connected by a wavy line to a square containing a wavy star in front : below, a portion of a fallen winged figure can be recognized : weight 30·7 grains.

The coins attributed to the Aulerci Diablintes are similar to those assigned to the Aulerci Cenomani with the addition of the distinguishing emblem of a circular flower-like object of six petals within a circle of pellets (see *Traité*, Fig. 199).

II. THE COINAGE OF AREMORICA.—The western portion of North-West Gaul, Aremorica, better known as Brittany and the adjacent portion of Normandy, consists of the modern departments of Finistère, Côtes-du-Nord, Morbihan, Ille et Vilaine, Loire Inférieure, Manche, Calvados, and Orne. The tribes inhabiting this district at the time of the Roman invasion were :—

1. The Baiocasses.
2. The Unelli.
3. The Redones.
4. The Coriosolitae.
5. The Osismi and
6. The Veneti and Corisopites.

1. The BAIOCASSES inhabited the most eastern portion of Aremorica, now known as the department of Calvados. The following two gold staters are attributed to them. FIG. 17 (*Traité*, Fig. 219) :—

Obverse.—A coarsely designed head to the right with three pellets, one above the other, representing the nose and lips which, with a large eye, give a somewhat negro type to the face ; the hair consists of three several couples of much larger pellets, almost looking like three dumb-bells ; on the top of the head is a boar to the right, and around the head are pearly lines waved. That in front of the face terminates in a small crescent

Reverse.—A man-headed horse galloping to the right, driven by a Victory so coarsely executed that her head is represented by a semi-circle of smaller pellets around a larger pellet: a wavy line connects one arm with a square, enclosing a central cross, in front of the horse: below is a boar moving to the right: of fine gold; weight 111·6 grains. (Lot 316, Prankerd Sale.)

FIG. 18. (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, 6978, *Var.*)

Obverse.—A fairly well proportioned head to the right, crowned by a boar to the right, and surrounded by loops of pearly lines ending apparently in small human heads; very similar to the obverse of No. 15, attributed to the Aulerici Cenomani.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse moving to the right: the driver is better designed than in the last coin, and the square in front of the horse has four tassels attached to its lower side; below the horse is an animal which may be intended for a boar: of fine gold; weight 109·2 grains.

2. The UNELLI inhabited the modern department of the Manche with Cherbourg as its chief town. The following two gold coins are assigned to them:—

FIG. 19 (*Atlas*, Plate XX, 6931, *Var.*) is a gold half-stater which was found on the beach at Reculver, near Herne Bay, in Kent—

Obverse.—A fairly well designed and large head to the right with the wreath and hair carefully indicated; below the truncated neck is a floriated design composed of two hooks with the convexities adjoining.

Reverse.—A horse prancing to the right; the driver is holding a sword with the point directed upwards; below the horse is a similar sword lying horizontally with the point to the left; the sword handles are peculiar, consisting of a semicircle with the centre of the convexity attached to the base of the blade; in front of the horse is the letter T with its transverse bar flush with the edge of the coin; below the exergual line is an inverted lys with elongated and wavy stems: of rather pale gold; weight 54·6 grains. Unfortunately the coin is somewhat rubbed.

FIG. 20 (*Atlas*, Plate XXIV, 6932, *Var.* Also *Traité*, Fig. 201, *Var.*) is a gold third of a stater—

Obverse.—A well designed head to the right showing slight degradation of the Greek type; only four pairs of laurel leaves are given; below the truncation of the neck is a sword with point to the left.

Reverse.—A driver, with hair arranged in pigtail fashion, holds in the right hand a four-pronged instrument directed upwards, while in the left hand are the reins guiding a well-shaped prancing horse to the right; below the horse is a horizontal sword with the point directed to the left; attached to the sword's handle, which is similar to those on the previous coin, is a wavy line which extends upwards in front of the horse to an oval leaf-like object. Below the exergual line is a degraded design in imitation of an inscription composed of alternate horizontal and vertical strokes in pairs: of fine gold; weight 30·4 grains.

This perfect little coin is from the O'Hagan Sale, Lot 2.

FIG. 21 (*Traité*, Fig. 221) is a remarkable silver coin attributed to the ABRINCATUI who also inhabited the southern portion of the Unelli district in the neighbourhood of Avranches—

Obverse.—A well-shaped and bearded head to the right; the ear is indicated by a crescent with curved-in ends: the front hair is composed of a series of S's, while the wreath consists of two rows of double leaves and the back hair of a series of locks with curled pigtails; the beard is represented by numerous closely packed pellets and the truncation of the neck is ornamented by a curved line of pellets.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse moving to the right; above is a rudely designed Victory, and below is a beaded wheel with eight spokes springing from a central ring-ornament: of fairly good silver; weight 98·7 grains. (Lot 287, Stroehlin Sale.)

3. The REDONES occupied the diocese of Rennes with, probably, the diocese of Dol and part of St. Malo, viz., the northern half of the department of Ille et Vilaine. The following gold coins are assigned to this tribe :—

FIG. 22 (*Atlas*, Plate XXII, 6761)—

This gold stater has on the *obverse* a somewhat degenerate head to the right; the ear has disappeared and the hair in front of the wreath is represented by three S-shaped figures.

Reverse.—An elongated human figure is riding a crudely shaped horse to the right ; its right hand, behind, grasps a beaded oval shield aloft, while its left, also aloft, holds the reins ; below the horse is a cross composed of five pellets joined by four lines at right angles to one another : of fine gold ; weight 115·8 grains. (Lot 286, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 23 is a quarter gold stater—

Obverse.—A fairly well-shaped head to the left with the locks of hair represented by large crescents.

Reverse.—A horse prancing to the left ridden by a man holding an oval shield behind ; below the exergual line is a legend of which the letters ΠΙΙV can be distinguished : of fine gold ; weight 31·2 grains. (Lot 367, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 24 (*Atlas*, Plate XXII, 6758)—

Another gold quarter-stater with, on the *obverse*, a similarly good head to the right with the ear represented by a crescent enclosing a pellet.

Reverse.—A rider on a horse moving to the right ; a raised arm behind holds a spear ; below the horse's head is the letter T inverted : of fine gold ; weight 30 grains. (Lot 286, Stroehlin Sale.)

We now come to a series of billon or base silver coins attributed to the Redones.

Plate II, FIG. 25 (*Traité*, Fig. 212)—

Obverse.—Head to the right with the small face well indicated ; the hair is represented by large symmetrically arranged locks around the wreath, composed of six leaves arranged in pairs.

Reverse.—A degraded and partially disjointed man-headed horse moving to the right and driven by an equally barbarously shaped Victory, only partially shown in the field ; below the horse is a four-spoked and beaded wheel: weight 101·5 grains. (Lot 476, Prankerd Sale.)

FIG. 25* represents the complete figure of the Victory on another similar coin.

FIG. 26 (*Atlas*, Plate XXIII, 6783)—

Obverse.—Head to the right with symmetrically arranged hair and wreath.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse with wiry legs moving to the right above are indications of the Victory holding the reins, and below is an eight-spoked wheel composed of an outer beaded circle and an inner ring-ornament: weight 96.1 grains. (Lot 287, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 27 (*Atlas*, Plate XXIII, 6793)—

Obverse.—A half-moon-shaped human face to the left with the hair extending to below the jaw; in front is a scroll extending from the mouth to above the forehead to terminate in a minute head; in front of the mouth is a horizontal oval object like a shell.

Reverse.—A man-headed and partially disjointed horse to the left; above, instead of the Victory, is an arched and beaded double scroll which enlarges in front of the horse to enclose an oval object, and terminates behind in a small human head looking upwards between two floriated ornaments; below the horse is an eight-spoked wheel with central ring-ornament: weight 82.7 grains. (Lot 476, Prankerd Sale.)

FIG. 28 (*Atlas*, Plate XXIII, 6794, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A fairly well proportioned head to the right with the hair arranged in three large coils, ornamented at the circumference by a series of little curls; the neck is very constricted; around the head are beaded wavy lines.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse galloping to the left; above a misshaped Victory, nearly all head; below the horse is a beaded wheel of eight spokes symmetrically placed between two crescents, the extremities of which are curled: weight 92.3 grains.

FIG. 29 (*Traité*, Fig. 223)—

Obverse.—A negro-looking head to the right with the hair arranged in three large rolls, each ending in a curl; around is a scroll composed of S's.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse to the right with peculiarly doubled legs; astride the horse is a cavalier with one arm directed upwards, and the other holding the reins, behind him is a four-spoked wheel, below is a hippocampus to the right: weight 98.9 grains. (Lot 287, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 29* is another specimen showing some of the details in clearer detail; it weighs 103.8 grains.



GAULISH COINS.

Plate II.

4. The CORIOSOLITES had as neighbours "the Osismi on the west, the Veneti on the south, and the Redones on the east; they dwelt in the country round Corseul, which preserves their name, and their territory corresponded more or less closely with the department of the Côtes-du-Nord." The following base silver or billon coins are assigned to them.

FIG. 30 (*Traité*, Fig. 217)—

Obverse.—Large head to the right with the hair arranged in three main coils, joined by S-shaped lines; little curls surround the top and back of the head.

Reverse.—A pig-faced horse to the right with large curved tail composed of a central beaded core; below the horse is a boar to the right, in front is a star of four pellets; above the horse are indications of a Victory: weight 89.1 grains. (Lot 1, Allan Sale.)

FIG. 31 (*Atlas*, Plate XXII, 6634)—

Obverse.—Very similar to that of Fig. 30; a large curl of hair invades the cheek and jaw, while a crescent droops downwards from the mouth.

Reverse.—A pig-faced horse with widely opened mouth is moving to the right; its tail is composed only of two wavy lines; above the horse is a fan-shaped object with the handle directed upwards, and below are indications of a boar moving to the right: weight 99.8 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 32 (*Traité*, Fig. 211)—

Obverse.—A rather more rudimentary head to the right, somewhat Japanese in expression; a long and a short curved line joined together represent the nose and upper lip respectively; the truncated neck ends in two crescents with convexities upwards.

Reverse.—A disjointed man-headed horse to the right; the fore and hind legs are very similar; the tail is composed of three curved lines, the uppermost of which is connected by a floral ornament to the reins, which separate the head from the horse's trunk; behind the horse's head, and separated by a vertical line, is a very similar human head to the right, which is the only remnant of the Victory. Below the horse is a lyre composed of a ring-ornament from which extend obliquely, upwards and backwards, four almost parallel lines each terminating in a pellet: weight 97 grains.

5. The OSISMI dwelt in the northern half of Finistère ; “one of their towns was Vorgum or Vorgium which is identified with Carhaix.” The two following gold staters are attributed to the Osismi.

FIG. 33 (corresponding to the quarter-stater, *Atlas*, Plate XXI, 6521)—

Obverse.—Very similar to Fig. 15, which is attributed to the Aulerci Cenomani of Western Gaul, the only difference being that the truncated neck terminates in a vertical rod with a pellet on each side at its root.

Reverse.—Also similar to that of Fig. 15 ; the man-headed horse has a well-shaped head to the right, with a collar round its neck. The Victory behind and above is well indicated, and between her and the horse is a roughly designed wheel composed of two ovals, one within the other, and with a central pellet ; below is a fallen winged human figure to the right : of fine gold ; weight 124·1 grains.

FIG. 34 (*Traité*, Fig. 220)—

Obverse.—A much degenerated human head with only slight indications of a mouth, to the right ; above is a boar to the right standing on a line ornamented by a half-ring ornament ; beaded wavy lines surround the head ; in front of the face is a small human head to the right, with curved pigtailed hair ; there are also indications of similar small heads before and behind the boar.

Reverse.—A negro-headed horse moving to the left ; above and in front of it are small human heads looking upwards and joined together by wavy lines ; below the horse are a boar moving to the right and a winged bird-like object with fan-tail : of very impure gold or silver ; weight 102·2 grains. (Lot 10, Julius Witte Sale.)

6. The VENETI and CORISOPITES, “according to the common opinion, occupied the diocese of Vannes, or, roughly speaking, the department of the Morbihan.” No coins have yet been attributed to the Veneti, but the following gold stater and quarter-stater are assigned to the Corisopites, who are supposed to have had their capital town on the site of the modern Quimper.

FIG. 35. (*Traité*, 208)—

Obverse.—Rather coarse head to the left with very ornate hair, most of the locks ending in hooks, three of which enclose pellets; surrounding the hair is a wavy line, beaded, and incorporated with it at the top are an oval ornament and a small human head looking upwards; behind the large head, and below the small head, is a triangle enclosing a pellet, with a crescent on each side with concavity outwards and joined above the triangle by a beaded line.

Reverse.—A well-designed man-headed horse prancing to the left; on its back is a bird with raised wings; in front is a cross bottonnée; above the latter is a beaded curved object, the lower end of which is pointed while the upper end is expanded above the horse's head and encloses a V-shaped object. Below the horse is a standard composed of an ox to the right on the base of a triangle beneath it: of base copper-coloured gold; weight 102·6 grains. (Lot 281, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 36 and FIG. 36* (*Atlas*, Plate XXII, 6584) are two specimens of the corresponding quarter-stater—

Obverse.—Head to the left with neatly arranged hair in three rolls ending in crescents surrounded by a wavy line, beaded; in front of the mouth a cross bottonnée.

Reverse.—Very similar to that on the stater Fig. 35, with the ox standard to the right below the horse to the right; in front of the horse a cross bottonnée: of base copper-coloured gold; weights 24·8 grains and 23·8 grains respectively. (Lot 281, Stroehlin Sale.)

THE COINAGE OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.—A large series of interesting coins are attributed to these islands, and they are usually designated by French writers as coins of the Jersey Find. Baron de Donop published at Hanover, in 1838, his "Les Médailles Gallo-Gaéliques, Description de la trouvaille de l'Île de Jersey." This find occurred in the year 1820, and the whole of the 982 coins then found came into his possession: the Baron illustrates 760 of them in 32 plates, giving a description of each separate specimen. In spite of this great labour, it is possible to distinguish only three definite varieties, which correspond to the three coins attributed to the Coriosolites

already described as Figs. 30, 31, and 32. The Baron de Donop devotes to the plates some 40 pages of descriptive text in which the most absurd theories are ventilated. One specimen of his pseudo-wisdom will suffice. On page 3 of his monograph, he actually proves to his own satisfaction that the trunk of the boar under the horse on the reverse of so many of the specimens is a cuneiform inscription indicating the name of Jehovah !

The following twenty-one silver and billon coins are assigned to the Channel Islands. FIG. 37. (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 1, *Var.*) :—

Obverse.—A segmented human head to the right ; the eye is enclosed in an almost complete triangle, one side of which represents the nose and ends in a pellet ; the hair is collected in four isolated coils, one being much anterior to the forehead ; the head is crowned by a boar to the right ; in the field are four or five waved lines, beaded.

Reverse.—A degraded man-headed horse to the right ; behind and above are indications of the Victory holding the reins ; in front is a square object enclosing a cross decorated with nine pellets ; below the horse is a lyre with five radiating strings, each terminating in a pellet and directed upwards and forwards ; on either side of the lyre is a group of three and four pellets respectively : of good silver ; weight 98·6 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 38. (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 2)—

Obverse.—Very similar to that of Fig. 37.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse to the left with the same square object in front as in Fig. 37 ; below is a lyre with four radiating strings with pellets on each side : of good silver ; weight 105·7 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 39. (*Atlas*, Plate XXVI, J, 33)—

Obverse.—Very like that of Fig. 37, the eye is, however, now enclosed within a complete triangle and there are two annulets in front of the boar at the top of the head.

Reverse.—Differs from that of Fig. 37, in having a four-stringed lyre with a semicircle of pellets around its ring, below the horse, which has a waved and double-lined tail : of good silver ; weight 101·7 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 40—

Obverse.—An extremely disjointed head to the right with six annulets in the field and between the locks of hair, which resemble three pairs of dumb-bells; traces of the boar at the back of the head and of wavy lines, beaded, can be distinguished.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse, of very coarse design, moving to the right, driven by a Victory; below the horse is a large boar to the right on an exergual line, with a crescent enclosing a pellet between its legs: of good silver; weight 104·7 grains. (Lot 287, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 41. (*Traité*, Fig. 6)—

Obverse.—A fairly well-designed head to the right; the hair is composed of elaborate curls symmetrically arranged in two large groups, separated at the middle of the back of the head by two crescents placed with convexities together; the crescents are thickened at one end and are separated by two pellets; on the cheek is a trefoil composed of three ring-ornaments which gives the impression of the portrait of a tattooed Maori; wavy lines, beaded, encircle the back of the head; above the forehead is an annulet, and there is a small prominence on the chin like a goatee beard.

Reverse.—A disjointed horse to the right; above are two fan-like objects with the handles directed downwards, separated by a straight line terminating above in a ring-ornament; in front of the horse are traces of the head of a boar, the rest of its body being off the coin; below the horse is a four-stringed lyre with a ring ornament on each side decorated with numerous rays; the whole within a beaded outer circle: of fairly good silver; weight 91·3 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 41* is a similar coin but shows some details which are wanting in Fig. 41: of good silver; weight 96·2 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 42 (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 12) resembles Figs. 41 and 41*—

Obverse.—In front of the head is a rayed star with central ring-ornament; the rays end in pellets and there are free pellets between the rays.

Reverse.—The horse's head is better shown and resembles that of a bird; in front of the horse is the trunk of a boar: of rather debased silver; weight 99·5 grains.

FIG. 43 (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, 14, *Var.*) is a variety of Figs. 41 and 41*—

Obverse.—The narrow neck is ornamented by four pellets at the truncation.

Reverse.—There is a row of five pellets above the four strings of the lyre: of fairly good silver; weight 96.5 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 44 (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 15) is another variety of Figs. 41 and 41*—

Obverse.—Instead of the ring-ornaments there is a four-stringed lyre on the cheek.

Reverse.—In front of the large-eyed horse is a boar to the left: of fair silver; weight 91.7 grains. (Lot 476, Prankerdt Sale.)

FIG. 45. (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 4)—

Obverse.—A much disjointed and degraded head to the right; two curved lines, one thick, prolonged from the plain cheek, and the other thin, above the eye, represent the eyebrow and forehead; the hair is similar to that of Figs. 41 and 41*.

The *reverse* resembles that of the same coins: of base silver; weight 91.8 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

Plate III, FIG. 46. (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 5)—

Obverse.—The head to the right has the hair very artistically arranged in long wavy locks, each terminating in a pellet at the end of a curl directed upwards; one S-shaped lock of hair spreads over the cheek; the face is well shaped except for the mouth, indicated by two pellets with tails; around the head are curved beaded lines.

Reverse.—Very similar to that of Fig. 41: of good silver; weight 99.2 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 47—

Obverse.—Resembles closely that of Fig. 46.

Reverse.—Below the horse is a large boar to the right on an exergual line; between the boar's legs, and attached to the line, is a crescent enclosing a pellet: of billon; weight 100.6 grains.



GAULISH COINS.

Plate III.

FIG. 48. (*Atlas*, Plate XXVI, J, 37, also *Traité*, Fig. 211)—

Obverse.—Head to the right with the hair arranged in three large coils with numerous small curls round the top and back of the head, the line representing the nose terminates above in a curl to the right, from which spring two S-shaped scrolls in front of the face; a third and similar scroll is opposite the mouth.

Reverse.—A disjointed man-headed horse to the right, its head cut off from the trunk by a pair of reins; the Victory is represented by a human head very similar to that of the horse; the two heads are separated by a vertical line ending above in a beaded ring-ornament: in front of the horse is a floral ornament; below is a four-stringed lyre lying obliquely upwards and backwards; a beaded exergual line is present: of base silver; weight 97·3 grains. (Lot 287, Stroehlin Sale.)

This should be compared with the very similar coin, Fig. 32, assigned to the Coriosolites.

FIG. 49. (*Evans*, Plate I, 12)—

Obverse.—Head to the right; hair arranged in three curved bands springing from an S-shaped coil in the region of the ear, the lower curl of which encloses an annulet on the cheek; there is a small S-shaped figure behind the eye.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse and head of Victory similar to that on Fig. 48, but a boar replaces the lyre under the horse; in front is an object like a portion of a horizontal ladder with three rungs: of base silver; weight 96·1 grains. (H. Willett Collection; found on the Sussex coast.)

The following silver quarter-staters are interesting, and most of them exhibit fine workmanship for such small coins :—

FIG. 50. (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 3)—

Obverse.—The head, crowned by a boar to the right, resembles that of its corresponding stater, Fig. 37.

Reverse.—The lyre below the horse has its five diverging strings directed downwards instead of upwards as in Fig. 37: of base silver; weight 25·7 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 51 and FIG. 51* (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 10) represent evidently the quarters of Fig. 41 and Fig. 41*—

Obverse.—The head to the right has no ring-ornaments on the cheek.

Reverse.—There is only one fan-shaped object above the horse; in front is a cross composed of five pellets joined together: of good silver; weights 20·7 and 19·8 grains respectively. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 52 and FIG. 52* (*Atlas*, Plate XXV, J, 9) are varieties of Fig. 51 and Fig. 51*. The two specimens are necessary to give the complete type—

Obverse.—The neck of the head, to the right, is a triangle with the apex above; the truncation of the neck is beaded; opposite the face is an oblong with zig-zags; a tongue-like object projects from opposite the mouth.

Reverse.—The horse is moving to the left instead of to the right; the single fan-shaped object above the horse has its handle directed upwards instead of downwards: of good silver; weights 21·8 grains and 21 grains respectively. (Lot 218, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 53 (*Atlas*, Plate XXVI, J, 36)—

Obverse.—A head to the right with an arrow-shaped object in front, above; the curl at the root of the nose is very pronounced.

Reverse.—A peculiar and disjointed horse to the right, with a plain heart-shaped head and single rein which joins a vertical rod; below the horse is a four-stringed lyre obliquely placed: of good silver; weight 22·5 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 54—

Obverse.—A head to the right with only traces of the face; a beaded line doubled on itself springs from the back of the head; below this is another but shorter waved line, beaded.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse being driven to the right by a Victory whose head is represented very cleverly by an annulet and two pellets: of debased silver; weight 25 grains.

III. THE COINAGE OF NORTH-WESTERN GAUL.—The tribes inhabiting the country between the rivers Loire and Seine were—

1. The Lexovii.
2. The Aulerci Eburovices.
3. The Carnutes and
4. The Turoni.

1. The LEXOVI occupied the diocese of Lisieux and most probably also the dioceses of Bayeux and Séez, viz., portions of the departments of Calvados and Orne.

FIG. 55 (*Traité*, Fig. 229)—

Obverse.—An eagle with opened wings to the left, surrounded by traces of a legend which in a perfect specimen would read, MAVFENNOS ARCANTODA.

Reverse.—A central flower of four petals surrounded by the legend SIMISSOS PVBLICOS LIXOVIO between two beaded outer circles; only indications of some of the letters are seen in this specimen: bronze; weight 53.4 grains. (Lot 282, Stroehlin Sale.) These coins are extremely rare and this is the only specimen in my cabinet.

2. The AULERCI EBUROVICES “occupied the diocese of Évreux or the central and the southern parts of the department of the Eure.” Their gold and bronze coins constitute a very interesting series.

FIG. 56 (*Traité*, Fig. 233) is a gold stater or half-stater—

Obverse.—A large human head to the left, the eye is enclosed in a triangle; the wide expanse of cheek is crossed from above downwards by an ornamental vertical band composed of two beaded lines enclosing a plain wavy line; on the forehead is a wreath composed of alternate pairs of elongated leaves and pellets; a beaded line separates it from a branched object with large pellets, which is supposed to represent mistletoe; another beaded line, at right angles to the first, separates the mistletoe from the hair, which is represented by three wavy lines and by S-shaped locks, two of which are arranged crosswise forming a swastika; below the truncation of the neck are two hook-like figures with convexities adjacent.

Reverse.—A somewhat disjointed horse galloping to the right; above is a degraded Victory whose hips and knees are much bent; there are indications of the arms and reins; below the horse is an animal with widely-open jaws to the right, which has been described as a wolf; in front is a large pellet, and beneath the horse's tail is a small oval wheel: of fine gold; weight 52 grains.

FIG. 57 (*Atlas*, Plate XXVIII, 7020) is another gold coin resembling Fig. 56—

Obverse.—The details of the mistletoe and wreath, etc., are more precise.

Reverse.—In front of the horse there are a cross botonnée and a square with enclosed cross: of good gold; weight 50·4 grains. (Lot 284, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 58 (*Traité*, Fig. 236) is a gold half-stater—

Obverse.—A bearded and well-shaped head to the right; the hair is fantastically arranged in curls turned in every direction and ornamented with a vertically placed sprig of mistletoe behind the forehead; the truncation of the neck is thickened and marked by a line of minute holes; below the neck is a symmetrical floral ornament.

Reverse.—A tolerably well-shaped horse, prancing to the left, has a trefoil of three pellets on its breast; above, is a Victory wearing a cap with an annulet as ornament behind; below the horse is a small animal with open jaws, to the left, above an exergual line supported by seven or eight vertical lines, which may be a degraded imitation of the legend on the Macedonian prototype: of fine gold; weight 61·7 grains. (Lot 283, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 59 (*Traité*, Fig. 239) is a bronze coin—

Obverse.—A female head, Diana, to the right, in front a vine rod carrying alternately leaves and grapes; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A well-shaped horse to the right; above are two horizontal S-shaped figures and a ring-ornament; below, another ring-ornament and a boar to the right; in front of the horse is a vine leaf with a long stalk directed upwards: weight 35·6 grains. (Lot 284, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 60 is another bronze coin, probably belonging to the Aulerci Eburovices—

Obverse.—Well-shaped head to the left, the hair very neatly arranged with a double fillet; in front a vine rod carrying grapes; there is another bunch of grapes at the back of the neck.

Reverse.—A winged female animal to the right; above three ring-ornaments; below the beaded exergual line are indications of letters: weight 49·6 grains. (Lot 284, Stroehlin Sale.)

3. The CARNUTES "possessed the dioceses of Chartres, Orléans, and Blois, or the greater part of the departments of the Eure-et-Loire, Loiret, and Loire-et-Cher." Finely executed gold staters are classed to them, although M. Adrien Blanchet has doubts about the attribution.

FIG. 61. (*Atlas*, Plate XX, 6410)—

Obverse.—Wreathed head of Apollo to the right, which shows scarcely any signs of art degradation except that the ear has disappeared amongst the locks of hair.

The *reverse* shows more degradation of type; the two-horsed chariot is represented by a large four-spoked oval wheel; the horses' hind legs are all alike and parallel, being detached from the trunks; below the fore legs is an object composed of a crescent enclosing a pellet, standing on a pedestal; the Victory is holding the reins and a whip; under the exergual line is the legend $\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda\cdot\Upsilon$: of fine gold; weight 131·7 grains, which is also the exact weight of a very perfect gold stater of Philip of Macedon in my cabinet which proves that there had been no degradation as tested by the weight. (Lot 257, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 62. This gold stater shows more signs of degraded art—

Obverse.—Head of Apollo to right; four pellets replace the tip of the nose, the nostril and the lips; the ear is a plain crescent enclosing a pellet.

Reverse.—The horses' hind legs are each composed of three pellets connected by fine lines; the fore legs are almost a jumble of pellets; the heads are very clumsy, with mouths formed of two pellets, while the ears are too long; the altar-like object under the fore legs is composed of four pellets and two crescents; below the exergual line, the letters in imitation of the legend are almost transformed into an arrangement of pellets (see the illustration): of fine gold; weight 127·8 grains. (Lot 259, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 63. This gold stater shows considerable degeneration, although on the—

Obverse.—The wreathed head to the right is fairly artistic; two locks of hair replace the ear and are prolonged to the lower jaw; the locks of hair at the back of the head are symmetrically arranged; there is a claw-shaped (?) lock of hair before the forehead.

Reverse.—The two horses are more like mules prancing to the right; the Victory, who is holding one rein, and the well-designed wheel

are nearly off the coin ; below the horses is a peculiar object which some would describe as a flower, but which is more like the hairy head of a walrus with eyes, nose, and tusks : of fine gold ; weight 116·7 grains.

FIG. 64 (*Atlas*, Plate XVIII, 5947) is a gold stater exhibiting another type of degraded art—

Obverse.—Human head to the right ; on the neck is a string of pearls, and below the truncation is a line of pellets.

Reverse.—The presence of the second horse is only indicated by a figure of dumb-bell form representing the head, and by the legs, of which three are visible and detached ; only the arms of the Victory are seen ; below the horses is an object like a two-stringed and closed lyre, inverted : of fine gold ; weight 112·7 grains.

FIG. 65 (*Atlas*, Plate XIX, 6069) is a gold half-stater—

Obverse.—A roughly executed head to the right ; apparently the wreath has been merged into the hair, or *vice versa*, as there are only two rows of ovals to represent both ; on the cheek is a small plain cross.

Reverse.—A bird (? eagle) has its head turned to the right and its tail resembles an inverted lys ; to the right is a beaded and four-spoked wheel held between its beak and claw ; to the left, one wing is displayed below a crescent open to the left : of fine gold ; weight 55·2 grains. (Lot 254, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 66 is another gold half-stater—

Obverse.—A well proportioned human face to the left, which is separated from the hair by a beaded line ; on the cheek is a small plain cross ; at the nape of the neck is a large nodule nearly surrounded by pellets.

Reverse.—An eagle with its head to the right holding a beaded and four-spoked wheel to the right between its beak and claw as in Fig. 65, but its tail is bifid like that of a fish, with a row of pellets under it ; on each side, below, is an annulet surrounded by pellets with a portion of a similar annulet above the wing on the left : of fine gold ; weight 54·9 grains. (Lot 254, Stroehlin Sale.)

The following four gold quarter-staters are attributed to the Carnutes :—

FIG. 67—

Obverse.—A fine human head to the right, although the ear is indicated by a crescent enclosing a pellet, and the hair locks behind the wreath are symmetrically arranged.

Reverse.—A winged quadruped, bird-headed, with rat-like tail and triple-clawed feet to the right; its beak is closed and the head is crowned by a spiked line; above is an object like an urn with curved handles of which the convexities are upwards; below, and attached to the animal by a curved line, is a five-rayed star, each ray ending in a pellet: of fine gold; weight 31 grains. (Lot 368, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 68 resembles Fig. 67—

Reverse.—The winged quadruped has a less bird-like head and the mouth is open; the feet appear hoofed as the legs terminate in pellets; below is a disjointed star of five rays; the pellets of the rays being at the centre instead of at the extremities as in Fig. 67: of fine gold; weight 29.5 grains. (Lot 368, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 69 resembles Fig. 67 and Fig. 68, but the winged animal on the reverse is more like a horse, Pegasus, with bifid hoofs; below is a small ring ornament: of fine gold; weight 31.5 grains. (Lot 368, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 70 is apparently a defaced gold quarter-stater; the defacement having been cut in both dies—

Obverse.—A human head to the right similar to those on the three preceding quarter-staters; this has been defaced by a very roughly executed animal (? horse) to the right; one of its forelegs traverses the face at the level of the eye; there is a tree-like object at the back of the animal's neck.

Reverse.—The hind quarters of a quadruped (? horse), moving to the right, have been defaced by one vertical and two horizontal lines crossing one another at right angles; below the animal is a figure like an unbarred A, which may have been in the original reverse die or have been an additional defacement: of fine gold; weight 30.4 grains. (Lot 368, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 71 is apparently a gold one-tenth stater; a bird with two pellets beneath the beak on both the obverse and reverse, but the birds

are very dissimilar: of fine gold; weight 10.5 grains. (Lot 254, Stroehlin Sale.)

The following two silver coins are also attributed to the Carnutes:—

Fig. 72. (*Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises* by MM. Muret and Chabouillet No. 5983.¹)

This interesting piece is an imitation of a coin of Emporiae—

Obverse.—A fine head to the right wearing a low helmet of Greek type with beaded cheek-pieces; the whole apparently within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse.—A well-proportioned horse galloping to the right; above a Λ -shaped object composed of two annulets joined and a row of pellets; below a floriated object somewhat resembling a pearl-ornamented fan with the handle downwards: of fine silver; weight 18 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 73. (*Atlas*, Plate XVIII, 5896)—

Obverse.—A coarsely designed human head to the right; the locks of hair are enclosed in large meshes; a plain line decorates the neck; the whole within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse.—Two well-shaped horses, the one above the other, moving to the right; between the legs of the lower horse is a flower, like a covered jar: of good silver; weight 49.5 grains.

The bronze or copper coins assigned to the Carnutes exhibit numerous varieties.

FIG. 74. (*Traité*, Fig. 243)—

Obverse.—A degraded head to the right, the upper part of the nose forming one side of the lozenge enclosing the eye; the hair is arranged in a large meshed network, each mesh enclosing an oval pellet; the whole within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse.—Within a beaded circle a large and a small bird "holding hands" as it were, each with its beak to the right; only the right wing of the former, but both wings of the latter are indicated, as usual, by vertical lines; between the birds' heads is a cross botonnée with a pellet in each angle, and above the cross is a serpent; to the left of the larger bird's head is a pentagon of three V's joined together. This bronze is apparently cast: weight 51.6 grains. (Lot 255, Stroehlin Sale.)

¹ I have to thank Monsieur Henri De La Tour, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for giving this reference.

FIG. 75. (*Atlas*, Plate XIX, 6108)—

Obverse.—Is very similar to that of Fig. 74, but the truncation line of the neck has a pellet at each end.

Reverse.—A single large bird with head to the right, the right wing is opened and the left claw holds a small serpent; on the left of the head is a pentagon and on the right a cross bottonnée with pellet in each angle: cast bronze; weight 49·7 grains. (Lot 255, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 76—

Obverse.—Within a beaded circle, a degraded human head to the left; the hair is represented by seven or eight plain curved lines with convexity upwards, and the neck by a triangle enclosing a pellet.

Reverse.—A large bird with head to the right, both wings being displayed; to the left of the head is a four-spoked wheel; in the field, to the right, is a line broken into three crescents which may represent a serpent; the whole within a beaded circle: of cast bronze; weight 43·6 grains.

FIG. 77. (*Atlas*, Plate XIX, 6147, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A large human head to the left, wearing a helmet, below which is wavy hair.

Reverse.—Within a beaded circle, a bird-headed human figure, winged and standing, with beak to the left; a quatrefoil of four pellets above the right wing, and a small cross bottonnée under the left wing: of cast bronze; weight 54·5 grains. (Lot 255, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 78. (*Atlas*, Plate XX, 6361)—

Obverse.—A rather cadaverous human head to the left, the chin and hollow cheek being well shown; around the face commencing opposite the forehead is the legend TOVTOBO[CIO], reading outwards and downwards, the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A lion passant to the right with the legend ATIPILOS under and between its paws: of cast bronze; weight 46·6 grains.

Plate IV, FIG. 79—

Obverse.—An extremely degraded head to the right, surrounded by a sort of nimbus enclosing rayed lines curved; in the field at the back of the head are several detached crescents.

Reverse.—A bird with head to the right, only the right wing being displayed ; in the field above the bird are a four-spoked wheel, two or three annulets, a crescent, and a nondescript object : of cast bronze ; weight 46·8 grains ; a large piece has been broken off.

Although the following seven coins (Pixtilos Series) are attributed to the Aulerci Ebuovices in Monsieur Henri De La Tour's *Atlas*, Monsieur Adrien Blanchet is probably correct in giving them to the Carnutes. The types are very interesting and show considerable artistic power.

Of FIG. 80 and FIG. 80* (*Traité*, Fig. 267), as is so often the case with Gaulish coins, the flan is too small to show the whole design, and so I have been obliged to illustrate two specimens in order that all the details may be exhibited—

Obverse.—A well-designed and bearded head of a young man, to the right, the hair being neatly indicated by closely approximated and curved lines ; in front of the face is the legend PIXTILOS, reading from above downwards ; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A human, draped figure sitting to the left on a chair, the back of which is decorated by four crescents each ending in a pellet ; the figure holds in the right hand a gracefully curved object which may be an acrostolion (the ornament at the prow of an ancient ship) ; in the field to the left is a wavy scroll or flower : of cast bronze ; weight 74 grains and 63·3 grains respectively. (Lot 283, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 81. (*Traité*, Fig. 268)—

Obverse.—Diademed female head to the left (? Venus) with in front the legend PIXTILO reading from below upwards ; the whole within a beaded border.

Reverse.—A winged griffin with lion's head standing over a recumbent man whose legs are flexed, traces of a legend above ; also within a beaded circle : of cast bronze ; weight 70 grains. (Lot 284, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 82. (*Traité*, Fig. 270)—

Obverse.—Diademed head to the right ; the diadem is tripartite in front with ornamental scroll behind ; in front the legend PIXTI[LOS] reading from above downwards ; the whole within a beaded circle.



GAULISH COINS.

Plate IV



Reverse.—A winged and bird-headed horse moving to the right; below a lys-like flower; above, the legend PIXTI[LOS]; the whole within a beaded border: of cast bronze; weight 48·2 grains. (Lot 283, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 83. (*Traité*, Fig. 271)—

Obverse.—Diademed head to the right; the diadem ornamented by feathers and a tail; in front, the legend PIXTILOS reading from above downwards.

Reverse.—(?) A woman on horseback galloping to the right and holding a split stick; below, a floriated ornament: cast bronze; weight 48·6 grains. (Lot 284, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 84. (*Traité*, Fig. 272)—

Obverse.—Diademed head (Venus) to the left; in front, the legend PIXTIL[OS] reading from below upwards.

Reverse.—A dog (female) to the left with a long tail tucked under her, looking backwards to the right at a lizard above her back; the whole within a beaded circle: cast bronze; weight 52·7 grains. (Lot 284, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 85. (*Traité*, Fig. 273)—

Obverse.—A well-proportioned male head to the right, wearing a beaded wreath, from which hangs in front of the ear a tassel of three cords; in front the legend PIXTIL[OS] reading from above downwards.

Reverse.—An eagle with opened wings looking to the left under a pediment, or roof, supported by ornamented columns; above the bird's head is a ring-ornament and on each side above the wings a trefoil of three pellets; the whole within an outer beaded circle: cast bronze; weight 51·5 grains. (Lot 283, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 86. (*Traité*, Fig. 274)—

Obverse.—A helmeted head to the left; in the field to the right a vertical fir tree; the usual legend in front of the face is almost obliterated; above the head is a ring-ornament between two oval pellets; the whole within an outer circle of large pellets.

Reverse.—A lion moving to the left; above are two ring-ornaments; below is an object which has been described as a Gaulish sword; it consists of a ring-ornament above, joined by three curved lines to a pellet on the left; below and on the left of the lion is the legend PIXTILOS reading from below upwards; all within an outer beaded circle: cast bronze; weight 46·3 grains. (Lot 284, Stroehlin Sale.)

4. The TURONI inhabited "the territory which corresponds with the diocese of Tours, or, roughly speaking, the department of the Indre-et-Loire." The attribution of the following bronze coins to this tribe is rather doubtful.

FIG. 87. (*Traité*, Fig. 278)—

Obverse.—Well-shaped head of a woman (?) to the right; the hair neatly bound by a fillet; in front of the face the legend TVRONOS reading from below upwards; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A bull to the right raising its mouth to the top of a tall two-handled vase; above the animal is a beaded ring-ornament; below the exergual line is the legend TRICCOS: of cast bronze; weight 39 grains. (Lot 282, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 88. (*Atlas*, Plate XXVII, 7011)—

Obverse.—Helmeted head to the left, in front, reading from above downwards, the legend TVRONOS.

Reverse.—Horse prancing to the left; below a lyre-shaped object; above reading from left to right, the legend CANTORIX: cast potin or bronze. The obverse is taken from one specimen and the reverse from another. Weights 48.5 grains and 58 grains respectively. (Lot 282, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 89 (*Traité*, Fig. 418)—

Obverse.—A wreathed head to the left; in front is the legend TVRONOS reading from above downwards; behind is a head of wheat with the stem above.

Reverse.—A coarsely designed horse to the left; below is an annulet surrounded by pellets, and a horizontal sword; above, a horizontal S-shaped figure and the legend [CAN]TORIX reading from left to right downwards: of cast bronze; weight 50.2 grains. (Lot 282, Stroehlin Sale.)

IV. THE COINAGE OF NORTHERN GAUL.—The following tribes inhabited the country between the Rivers Seine and Rhine:—

1. The Caleti.
2. The Vellocasses.
3. The Ambiani.

4. The Atrebatas.
5. The Morini.
6. The Nervii.
7. The Treveri and
8. The Eburones and the Aduatuci.

1. The CALETI occupied the northern portion of "the diocese of Rouen, and their territory included the Pays de Caux (*pagus Caletus*) or the western and central portion of the department of the Seine Inférieure."

FIG. 90 (*Traité*, Fig. 237) is assigned to the Caleti by Monsieur De La Tour, although Monsieur Adrien Blanchet gives it to the Aulerci Eburovices. It is a handsome half-stater—

Obverse.—A fairly good head to the right; the S-shaped locks of hair, especially the front row, are symmetrically arranged on each side of a central pellet; one lock of hair ends in a pellet on the angle of the jaw; the wreath is composed of crescents with concavities directed towards the middle of the head; below the truncation of the neck is a symmetrical floral pattern.

Reverse.—A horse prancing to the right; above, a human figure in a running attitude, with the left leg hyper-extended at the hip and flexed at the knee so that the foot nearly touches the back of the head, while the right hip and knee are flexed and the bifid foot holds a pellet; a beaded or wavy line extends from the running figure round the front of the horse to the open mouth of a nondescript animal (? wolf) below the horse; between the two animals is an object like a trident with the prongs downwards, between two pellets: of fine gold; weight 62.1 grains. (Lot 288, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 91. (*Atlas*, Plate XXIX, 7187)—

Obverse.—A female head and bust to the left with a necklace composed of the clubbed ends of a torque; over each shoulder is a wing; in front of the face is the legend ATEVLA, reading from above downwards; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A bull to the right with a large quatrefoil of four ovals between its legs; above the animal is a horizontal S and below the exergual line an ear of wheat with stalk; in front is the legend

VLATOS reading from below upwards; the whole within a beaded circle: of good silver; weight 28·3 grains. (Lot 288, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 92. (*Traité*, Fig. 392)—

Obverse.—Very similar to that of Fig. 91.

Reverse.—A bull to the right with a pentagon composed of three triangles between its legs; below the exergual line is attached a semicircle enclosing a solid crescent; in front the legend VLATOS, and above a horizontal S: of fine silver. [The obverse of one specimen and the reverse of another are illustrated.] Weights 28·2 grains and 25·5 grains respectively. (Lot 288, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 93 and FIG. 93.* (*Atlas*, Plate XXIX, 7177.) Two specimens are illustrated as only a portion of the complete design is exhibited on each—

Obverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 91; but the wings are absent and the necklace is extended by beads round the shoulders and breast; in front of the female face is the legend CALEDV reading from below upwards, and behind the head are two reversed S's and a ring-ornament; the whole within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse.—A horse prancing to the left with halter hanging down; above is a horizontal S, and below is a ring-ornament; the exergual line is doubled, being composed of a very elongated oval; the whole within a beaded circle: of good silver; weights 28 grains and 29·5 grains respectively. (Lot 288, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 94. (*Atlas*, Plate XXIX, 7174)—

Obverse.—Diademed head to the left, with beaded circular ornament and a long double tassel, also beaded, hanging behind; the top of the dress is indicated on the neck.

Reverse.—A fairly well-proportioned horse galloping to the left; it has three bands across its body, one at the root of the neck, another behind the shoulders and the third obliquely in front of the hind quarters; above is the legend CAL[EDV] reading from left to right; beneath is a coiled serpent to the left; the whole within a beaded circle: of fine silver; weight 32 grains. (Lot 288, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 95 (*Atlas*, Plate XXIX, 7203 or 7205)—

Obverse.—Bust wearing casque to the right with necklace and ornamented dress; behind the head is a pentagon of three triangles: a small portion of another similar head with pentagon is seen in the field in front. Apparently the dies of both obverse and reverse were double.

Reverse.—A horse stepping to the right; with one plain horse-collar in front and one beaded horse-collar behind the shoulders; above is the legend VLATOS and below is a serpentine floral ornament: part of the legend (V)LAT(OS) of another similar reverse is visible near the lower margin of the coin: of fine silver; weight 28.3 grains. (Lot 288, Stroehlin Sale.)

2. The VELIOCASSES “dwelt in that part of the diocese of Rouen which did not belong to the Caleti, namely, the southern part of the department of the Seine-Inférieure and the eastern part of the department of the Eure. Their name survived in the old ‘Vexin.’”

FIG. 96 is a gold stater attributed to the Veliocasses (*Traité*, Fig. 279, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—An exceedingly degraded head to the right, where the forehead and nose are represented by a single curved line: the eye is extremely large, and the ear is replaced by a large rayed pellet; below the chin, the lower half of which is beaded, are two parallel and beaded lines extending right across the coin to meet the beaded outer circle; in the field to the right are pellets and a crescent.

Reverse.—A barbarously designed horse prancing to the right: the mane is represented by parallel lines and pellets: above and below the horse is a large rayed pellet: of fine gold; weight 91 grains. (Lot 348, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 97 is a somewhat similar gold stater (*Atlas*, Plate XXIX, 7230, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—Instead of the pellets and crescent there is a reversed letter S in front of the face.

Reverse.—The mane of the horse is represented only by a line of pellets: of fine gold; weight 91 grains, which is exactly the same as that of the preceding coin. (Lot 289, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 98 (*Traité*, Fig. 279) resembles Fig. 97—

Obverse.—The S-figure in front of the face is not reversed.

Reverse.—The horse is prancing to the left and has a crescent with concavity to the left attached to the top of its head: of fine gold; weight 91·5 grains. (Sotheby's, Lot 19, May 3rd, 1909, but catalogued as an Ancient British coin.)

The following bronze coins are also assigned to the Vellocasses:—

FIG. 99 (*Traité*, Fig. 281)—

Obverse.—A human figure running to the right: the right arm in front has the hand touching a ring-ornament: the left arm is directed backwards between two large pellets: the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse prancing to the right with a large pellet above and below it: bronze; weight 61 grains. (Lot 289, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 100 (*Traité*, Fig. 281, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A similar running figure; the left arm is extended forwards with the fingers spread out within a large broken annulet (? shield the right arm is bent and the hand rests on the side of the trunk the curled-up pigtail of the hair is very prominent; the field to the left of the figure is filled by a long curved nondescript object; in another specimen there is an annulet below the shield.

Reverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 99 but the horse is more degraded in form, with the upper portions of its legs bifid: bronze; weight 51·7 grains. (Lot 289, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 101 (*Traité*, Fig. 283)—

Obverse.—A kneeling human figure to the left, with the right arm holding a bow; the left arm is bent and crosses the trunk; in the field to the right are three ring-ornaments one above the other; the whole surrounded by a double border composed of pellets joined by fine lines.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse to the right: the pellets representing the mane are continued all the way to the tail; above is a triangle on which are four pellets; below is a beaded ring-ornament; the whole within a border similar to that on the obverse: bronze; weight 42·8 grains. (Lot 289, Stroehlin Sale.)

3. The AMBIANI "occupied the diocese of Amiens, which nearly corresponds with the department of the Somme."

FIG. 102 is a gold half-stater (*Atlas*, Plate XXXIII, 8380, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A very coarsely executed man's head with receding chin: the hair indicated by thick crescents and pellets, and the ear by a ring-ornament.

Reverse.—A horse being driven to the right: the animal has peculiar antennæ-like ears curled inwards, and its mouth is within the jaws of some wild animal which appears to be hanging on. The charioteer has a large mass of wavy hair ending in a curled pigtail; the upraised arm terminates in two fingers; below him is the wheel composed of two concentric ovals; beneath the horse is another smaller animal; below the exergual line is the legend, or imitation legend, Π Π Π Π: of fine gold; weight 58.8 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 103 is another gold half-stater attributed to the Ambiani—

Obverse.—An artistically designed and wreathed female head to the right; the hair arranged in thick solid crescents, and continued in perspective as small open crescents, in front of the nose; the ear is represented by a thin crescent ending below in a pellet; on the temple is a star of pellets; the truncation of the neck is ornamented by a row of pearls between two bands; below the neck is a symmetrically arranged floral pattern—altogether a beautiful work of art.

Reverse.—Above a horse moving to the right is a peculiar human-headed figure which has a tail of three pellets instead of legs; in its raised right hand is a stick while the reins are held in the left hand; the figure's hair is long and wavy and hangs down the back as two streamers. A wavy line extends from the horse's mouth to a nondescript animal below. There are traces of an exergual line with legend: of fine gold; weight 36.5 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 104 is a gold third of a stater—

Obverse.—A fairly well-designed human head to the right with wreath and pronounced chin.

Reverse.—A barbarously designed charioteer driving two horses to the right; the legs and heads of the animals are merely represented by

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a number of pellets ; under the horses is an -shaped figure, and below the exergual line is the legend ΠΙΥΥΙ ; beyond the latter is a small four-spoked wheel below a small crescent and thick line ; there is a larger four-spoked wheel under the driver : of fine gold ; weight 29·7 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 105 (*Traité*, Fig. 32) is another gold third of a stater—

Obverse.—A fine diademed head to the right which is a copy of the Amphitrite on a gold coin of Tarentum

Reverse.—Of much coarser work ; a horseman galloping to the left holding an oval shield behind ; below is the legend ΟΠΠΠ in comparatively large letters : of fine gold ; weight 30·2 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 106 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXIV, 8538) is a gold quarter-stater which resembles *Evans* E.9 found on the south coast of England—

Obverse.—Two vertical and much indented objects close together beneath a curved figure like a fish, with large head to the left.

Reverse.—A tree-like object consisting of trunk and two branches ending in foliage, or it might be likened to a merrythought bone : of fine gold ; weight 22·8 grains.

The following bronze coins are attributed to the Ambiani—

FIG. 107 (*Traité*, Fig. 358)—

Obverse.—A boar standing to the right : from the back of its head a curved line projects forwards to end in an annulet ; between its legs is the letter S with an annulet above it ; below the animal extending upwards to below its snout is the legend VACIICO (Vaceco): the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A horseman riding to the left, holding aloft behind him a circular shield ; in the field several ring-ornaments : bronze ; weight 41·5 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 108 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXIII, 8460)—

Obverse.—A horse moving to the right with raised tail ; a ring-ornament on its chest and another on its hindquarter ; there is an annulet below its head and a ring-ornament beneath its legs.

Reverse.—A well-shaped boar to the right standing on an exergual line ; between its legs a ring-ornament, an annulet above its head

and below it an object like a closed pair of scissors, consisting of two adjoining annulets with an oval pellet between and above them: bronze; weight 41 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 109 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXIII, 8456)—

Obverse.—An ox standing to the right on an exergual line; above, a large pellet with a tail attached on each side; below, between the animal's legs, a pellet.

Reverse.—A horseman riding to the left and holding a whip which is curled over his head; several small annulets in the field, one of which is connected by a rod to the front of the horse's neck; the whole within a beaded outer circle: bronze; weight 29.2 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 110—

Obverse.—A boar standing to the right on an exergual line; a ring-ornament under the head; several annulets in the field; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the left, several pellets or annulets in the field; the whole within a beaded circle: bronze; weight 43.8 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 111. (*Atlas*, Pl. XXXIII, 8445)—

Obverse.—A man's head to the right wearing a diadem composed of a thick band from which spring six or seven wavy, and more or less vertical rods: behind the head is a large ring-ornament.

Reverse.—A boar to the left standing on an exergual line: the rayed ridge of the back ends in an annulet for a tail; below its head is a ring-ornament: of cast and base bronze or potin; weight, 34.7 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

4. The ATREBATES "occupied the diocese of Arras, that is to say the south-eastern part of the department of the Pas-de-Calais and the adjacent part of the department of the Nord."

FIG. 112 (*Atlas*, Pl. XXXV, 8593, *Var.*) is a pale gold stater which has a considerable resemblance to the ancient British stater *Evans*, B.I.—

Obverse.—Laureate head to the right with the face almost off the field: the leaves of the wreath diverge downwards for the whole width of the coin, and are crossed at right angles by a narrow band (? pin)

which extends to the large solid crescents of the front hair; the locks of hair behind are identical with those on the Ancient British coin. The neck decoration consists of four parallel lines, the highest of which terminates in a crescent with convexity downwards; below the crescent are two other solid crescents with concavities forwards; there are pellets in the two outer spaces formed by the parallel lines.

Reverse.—A disjointed horse to the right with a tailed pellet fixed to its chest by a short rod; attached to its back is a small crescent and above are two pellets, one of which is connected with it; behind its legs are three spikes: below the animal is a large pellet on the top of a vertical rod which crosses the exergual line at right angles to reach the margin of the coin; the exergue is ornamented by four large V's: weight 98.1 grains.

FIG. 113 is a beautifully executed and preserved gold quarter-stater which was attributed by its late owner, Monsieur Stroehlin, of Geneva, to this tribe—

Obverse.—Head of Apollo to the left showing few, if any, traces of degraded art.

Reverse.—A horseman riding to the right, although he apparently is looking to the left; his arms are stretched outwards and upwards: that to the left has some drapery attached to it; in front of the horse is an E-shaped figure and between the two fore feet are the letters AI: of fine gold; weight 29 grains. (Lot 322, Stroehlin Sale.)

Plate V, FIG. 114. This cast and base bronze, or potin, coin is also attributed to the Atrebates—

Obverse.—A plant-like object composed of a vertical column of large pellets joined together; on either side are four parallel lines, thick and wavy; between the upper and lower double pairs of these lines are two annulets; the whole within a plain circle.

Reverse.—A horse or other animal to the right; above are a row of annulets and a crescent; below is an annulet joined by a rod to the animal's abdomen: weight 75 grains. (Kindly given to me by Vicomte B. de Jonghe of Brussels, being one of the large hoard of similar coins found at Tournay.)



GAULISH COINS.

Plate V.

5. The MORINI occupied the coast to the north of the Ambiani and the Atrebates, and their territory corresponded to a portion of the modern diocese of St. Omer in the departments of the Pas-de-Calais and the Nord.

FIG. 115 (*Atlas*, Pl. XXXV, 8710) is a gold stater—

Obverse.—Plain but cut and scratched in this specimen.

Reverse.—A disjointed horse moving to the right; its tail is curved upwards over its loins while its mouth is represented by a thick transverse bar joined by two converging fine lines to the rest of the head; its hoofs are somewhat claw-shaped; above the animal are a trefoil of pellets and several small crescents and pellets; behind is an oval ring-ornament, and below is a solitary pellet; under the beaded exergual line is a series of open pellet-ended crescents each enclosing a pellet and arranged alternately with the convexity upwards and downwards: of fine gold; weight 94.4 grains. (Lot 139, F.A. Inderwick Sale.)

The late Sir John Evans ascribed somewhat similar coins found in Kent, Sussex and Essex to the Ancient British series.

FIG. 116 is another very similar gold stater attributed to the Morini—

Obverse.—Similar to that of Fig. 115; showing a large, raised and flattened-out surface in the centre with a depression surrounding it near the margin of the coin.

Reverse.—This only differs from that of Fig. 115, in having the crescents below the exergual line solid and thinner: of fine gold; weight 95.1 grains.

6. The NERVII probably inhabited the territory corresponding “with the ancient diocese of Cambrai, which comprised Hainault, that part of Brabant which lies west of the Demer and the Dyle, East Flanders and part of the province of Antwerp” and possibly so far northward as the head of the estuary of the Scheldt. The following gold staters are attributed to the Nervii.

FIG. 117 (*Traité*, Fig. 305, *Var.*). It is difficult to believe that the objects to be described on the following obverses are really a degraded head of Apollo to the right—

Obverse.—Commencing from the right margin of the coin we have a plain cross on a raised boss: next, two crescents joined together like the Greek letter Ξ —hence this coin is sometimes described as

belonging to the Epsilon series—then a rather acutely-angled crescent within a larger semicircular crescent; lastly two diverging tablets with a portion of a third tablet between them at the left margin of the coin; below are a small plain cross and two large pellets with three horizontal lines; above is a vertical rod with large and small pellets and an annulet.

Reverse.—A horse with disjointed neck to the right: the head with long ears consists of a triangle and large pellet, the base of the triangle forming the mouth; above is a wheel with large nave and ten spokes, between two tailed pellets: in front of the horse is a ring-ornament surrounded by minute crescents and pellets, and a small cross: the horse has apparently an extra pair of fore legs and below them are two small crosses: of pale gold; weight 91.2 grains. (Lot 341, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 118.—

Obverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 117, but beyond the crescent in the mid-portion is a trefoil of three tablets arranged symmetrically above are four annulets divided, two and two, by a straight line joined below to the larger crescent; in the remainder of the field are a row of five tablets, four small crosses, another annulet from which parallel lines extend to the left lower edge of the coin, and a pellet to which is joined a horizontal line which has at right angles below it two beaded lines and one plain, which last has again two shorter lines at right angles to it.

Reverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 117; below the horse's head is an annulet within a circle of pellets, and there is only one cross beneath the horse: of fine gold; weight, 89.7 grains. (Lot 338, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 119 (*Traité*, Fig. 305)—

Obverse.—Is probably similar to the obverses of Figs. 117 and 118, but more of the field to the right is visible: above and around the € and kidney-shaped boss are two annulets close together and a row of four narrow tablets and three crosses, very like the number XXXVIII reading from below upwards: below are three horizontal lines, the highest of which is beaded.

Reverse.—Is very similar to that of Fig. 117; the clawed front hoofs of the horse are very marked: of fine gold; weight, 89.8 grains. (Lot 341, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 120 (*Traité*, Fig. 306)—

Obverse.—The large € and two crescents are present as in the previous three coins; behind them to the left is the legend VIROS reading from below upwards; scattered over the field are annulets, ring-ornaments, pellets and crossing and angled lines.

Reverse.—A fairly well designed horse moving to the left; above is the legend VIR(OS) reading from left to right: in front of the horse's head is an S-shaped figure; below, a spur-shaped object with the rowel directed upwards and topped by a crescent; in the field are many annulets, six of which are joined in couples with a rod extending from their junctions to the edge of the coin, resembling the handles of three pair of scissors: of fine gold; weight, 85.5 grains. (Lot 338, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 121—

Obverse.—Is similar to that of Fig. 120, but the legend is off the coin; a ring-ornament and a cross are distinguishable above the large €.

Reverse.—Is also like that of Fig. 120, with the legend VIROS well shown: of fine gold; weight, 84.6 grains. (Lot 336, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 122 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXV, 8780). This bronze coin is also assigned to the Nervii—

Obverse.—An animal (? a lion) moving to the right; below, the letters VE; in front an annulet and ring-ornament.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the right; above, a four-spoked wheel half off the field; below, the letter P: weight, 81.4 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

7. The TREVERI. "Roughly speaking their territory may be said to have comprised the greater part of the province of Luxembourg, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and the southern part of Rhenish Prussia." The gold staters of the Treveri are characterized by a remarkable degradation of the Apollo's head on the obverse, which has exaggerated so considerably the size of the eye that they are known as "*Monnaies à l'œil*."

FIG. 123 (*Traité*, Fig. 307)—

Obverse.—The eye, seen in profile to the right, is composed of three portions, viz., of the central eye and the upper and lower eye-lids.

The eye consists of a cone-shaped oval enclosing an elongated pellet from which curved lines gradually converge to the left to join a large pellet. This peculiar eye lies free in the angle of about 60° , of two beautifully ornamented and diverging stripes or bands. The lower band is composed of six layers; that next the eye is a plain thin line, then come, in succession, a beaded line, a thicker plain line, a line composed of small zig-zags, another beaded line, and lowest of all a row of separated large pellets. Only three layers of the upper band are on the coin, consisting of a line of larger oval pellets close together, between two beaded lines; opposite the large end of the eye are small rays and crescents nearly off the coin which are better seen in the next illustration.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the left, the mane is twisted and its tail ornamented by zig-zags; above is the letter V within a beaded heart-shaped frame between two large rayed pellets: a beaded bridle hangs apparently curved round another large rayed pellet; below is a ring-ornament within a beaded circle; a zig-zag exergual line is just visible: of fine gold; weight, 93.9 grains. (Lot 344, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 124—

Obverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 123 with the addition of four S-shaped figures separating three large rayed pellets in front of the large end of the eye, the small end of which is composed of a beaded annulet enclosing a pellet; attached on one side to the upper corner of the large end of the eye is a ring-ornament.

Reverse.—Also closely resembles that of Fig. 123; there is an object resembling an hour-glass in front of the horse, which latter has a peculiar oval (?) ear and a curled lock of hair attached to the top of its head: of fine gold; weight, 95.7 grains. (Lot 344, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 125 (*Traité*, Fig. 308)—

Obverse.—The typical eye to the right is composed of an oval compartment enclosing a pellet attached to it at two points on the right; the remainder of the eye consists of a plain triangle; the angle formed by the diverging bands is less distinctly marked in this specimen, as only one line, and that beaded, represents the upper band, while three parallel and plain lines represent the lower band.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the left which is only partly on the coin; above is the legend VOCARAN below two large pellets: of fine gold; weight 91.7 grains. (Lot 139, F. A. Inderwick Sale.)

FIG. 126 (*Atlas*, Pl. XXXVI, 8821)—

Obverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 125; as is so often the case, the flan has been much too small for the whole of the die, and of the upper band of the angle only a mere trace is visible; the lower band of the angle consists of a plain line, then of a beaded parallel line which bends downwards at right angles in front of the end of a thicker parallel line, and near the margin of the coin is a fourth, a very fine wavy line parallel with the others; the large oval of the eye has an annulet at each end; in front of the eye is the legend LVCOTIOS reading from above downwards; still more to the right, on the edge of the coin, is a portion of a large rayed pellet.

Reverse.—A horse with detached mane, moving to the left and similar to that on Fig. 125; above the horse a portion of the legend (LV)COTI(OS) can be recognized, reading from left to right; below is an annulet within a beaded circle: of fine gold; weight 92.5 grains. (Lot 350, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 127 (*Traité*, Fig. 309)—

Obverse.—In this stater there is a further degradation of type and the eye is represented by an eight-spoked wheel; a large beaded horizontal figure in the form of the letter Y fills up the remainder of the angle, the wheel lying between its two arms; the upper band of the large angle is composed of two plain parallel lines with a herringbone line, terminating at each end in an annulet, between them; the lower band of the angle consists of three parallel lines, plain and thick, then of a zig-zag line, and lastly of a thin plain line also parallel with the others.

Reverse.—A horse prancing to the left; above, a portion of the V enclosed in a heart-shaped compartment as in Figs. 123 and 124; below the horse is a four-rayed star; between the two exergual lines is the legend (PO)TTINA: of fine gold; weight 81.3 grains. (Lot 8, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 128—

Obverse.—Similar to that of Fig. 127; in the upper band of the angle of the eye the herringbone line has three annulets at each end; in addition a row of portions of three large and rayed pellets can be seen parallel to the same band and close to the edge of the coin; there are also three similar large and rayed pellets to the right of the wheel.

Reverse.—Also similar to that of Fig. 127, with the addition of a large rayed pellet under the horse's tail: of fine gold; weight 82 grains. (Lot 350, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 129 (*Atlas*, Pl. XXXVI, 8815)—

Obverse.—The eye to the right has developed another degradation or transformation and now consists of two concentric circles enclosing a pellet; attached to the left of the outer circle is a horizontal rod ending in a pellet towards the apex of the angle, the whole resembling a hand mirror; the ornamented diverging bands of the large angle resemble those of Figs. 123 and 124, with the addition of an outermost row of large pellets.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the left, with a wide tail, represented by two fine wavy lines; the bridle is connected with the lowest of four pellets above the horse; below is a large beaded circle enclosing a smaller plain circle: of fine gold; weight 92 grains. (Lot 346, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 130 resembles Fig. 129, but several of the details are better shown: of fine gold; weight 91.8 grains. (Lot 346, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 131 is a contemporary forgery of Figs. 129 and 130, and composed of copper plated with gold. It is illustrated because of its variations—

Obverse.—In front of the eye there are three large rayed pellets enclosed by four wavy lines extending from the eye to the margin of the coin.

Reverse.—There are five pellets above the horse, the wide tail of which is filled by a zig-zag pattern. Although of the same size as Figs. 129 and 130, it only weighs 46.3 grains, almost exactly one half their weights. (Presented by Mr. Carlyon-Britton.)

8. The EBURONES and ADUATUCI inhabited the country west of the Rhine between the Nervii and the Treveri. Their coins are very rare. Fig. 131* (*Atlas*, Pl. XXXVI, 8868) is the only specimen in my cabinet and is attributed to the Aduatuci—

Obverse.—A swastika or cross composed of a central ring-ornament surrounded by the busts of four horses arranged symmetrically between four annulets; the whole within a double beaded and plain circle.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the left with an annulet on its breast and another on its crupper; in the field to the left is an annulet. The whole within a double circle as on the obverse: bronze; weight 53.8 grains.

V. THE COINAGE OF NORTH-EASTERN GAUL includes the following tribes :—

1. The Senones.
2. The Meldi.
3. The Silvanectes.
4. The Parisii.
5. The Bellovaci.
6. The Veromandui.
7. The Suessiones.
8. The Remi.
9. The Lingones.
10. The Leuci.
11. The Mediomatrici and the Verodunenses, or Viroduni.

1. The SENONES “undoubtedly occupied the diocese of Sens : the diocese of Auxerre is generally attributed to them,” and probably they also occupied the dioceses of Troyes and Meaux, that is to say, their territory included portions of the departments of the Seine et Marne, Aube, and Yonne. A series of cast bronze coins with coarsely-designed heads is attributed to the Senones.

FIG. 132 (*Traité*, Fig. 319)—

Obverse.—A roughly-designed human head to the right, with the hair arranged in flowing locks ending in large pellets ; the whole within a plain circle.

Reverse.—A rude horse to the left with long tail curved up over its back ; three large pellets in the field, one above, below and in front of the horse : base bronze or billon ; weight 52·8 grains.

FIG. 133 (*Atlas*, Pl. XXX, 7580)—

Obverse.—A rudely-designed head to the right with the hair arranged in five net-like compartments, each enclosing a solid and almost straight crescent ; in front of the face, a ring-ornament with pellets around.

Reverse.—If not obliterated, as in this specimen, should exhibit a bird to the left with pentagon and letters above : bronze ; weight 46·6 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 134 (*Atlas*, Pl. XXX, 7508, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—Only the face and lower portion of a rude head to the right are on the coin; the truncation of the neck is represented by a pellet-ended crescent with concavity below; in front is a large annulet within a circle of pellets.

Reverse.—A bird to the left, above are two pairs of crescents with convexities above and the letters IIA; below is a cross botonnée; there are also pellets above and below the bird's head and tail: bronze; weight 40.6 grains.

FIG. 135 (*Traité*, Fig. 324)—

Obverse and Reverse.—A couple of nondescript animals facing each other within a double outer circle, the inner circle being beaded: weight 60.2 grains.

2. The MELDI and 3 the SILVANECTES. Of the coins of these I have no specimens.

4. The PARISII inhabited a territory which “corresponded with the modern diocese of Paris, that is to say, the department of the Seine and part of the department of the Seine-et-Oise.”

FIG. 136 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXI, 7782). A fine gold stater—

Obverse.—A large human head to the right, the face being well proportioned with prominent eye-brow; the front hair is represented by three open crescents, the lowest being prolonged into a curl enclosing a pellet; the back hair consists of curved lines, several of which are joined together and end in curls. The neck is composed of a solid triangle, the upper angle of which is enlarged to represent the ear; below the truncation of the neck is a curved line from which pass vertical lines to the edge of the field.

Reverse.—A horse of peculiar shape to the left; its breast is composed of four adjoining large pellets above one another; from beneath the lowest pellet springs a single rod which bifurcates to form the fore legs; the thighs of both hinds legs are visible; below the horse is a rose of pellets; the mane is represented by a curved line of small pellets ending below in a curl; from the latter a triangular wing or fillet spreads out and covers the whole field above the horse; this wing is enclosed below by two curved lines and above by one curved line, all with convexities upwards; the whole surface of the wing is divided into some twenty small squares or lozenges,

each containing one pellet, except the highest, which has two ; in addition to the ordinary tail of three strands, there is a second curled-up with a thickened end above the horse's back ; a zig-zag bridle extends from the horse's mouth upwards to above its head which has an S-shaped ear : of fine gold ; weight 110·8 grains. (Lot 293, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 137—

Obverse.—A similar gold stater with some of the details better shown.

Reverse.—Instead of a rose there is a quartrefoil of four pellets beneath the horse ; a portion of the beaded outer circle is visible : of fine gold ; weight 108·2 grains.

FIG. 138 (*Traité*, Fig. 344) is another fine stater—

Obverse.—A well proportioned head to the right ; the face is framed by two strings of pearls which meet and curl away from one another behind the ear, which is indicated by two slender curved lines ; the hair is symmetrically arranged in beautiful curls above and below the middle of the head around a star of herringbone pattern ; on the cheek is a simple cross.

Reverse.—Similar to that of Fig. 136, but the hind legs are much more complete : of fine gold ; weight 112·3 grains. (Lot 293, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 139 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXI, 7792) is a gold quarter-stater—

Obverse.—Coarse head to the right ; four pellets of the same size represent the eye, nostril and the lips ; the hair is indicated by six large curled coils arranged symmetrically around a small elongated pellet in the centre of the head.

Reverse.—A horse prancing to the left ; the fore legs are separated : the tail is rat-like and a zig-zag line is connected with the mouth ; the characteristic tessellated wing or fillet above the horse has no pellets in the squares ; below is a rose of ten pellets : of fine gold ; weight 27 grains. (Lot 295, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 140 (*Traité*, Fig. 345) is a gold quarter-stater of another type—

Obverse.—A well-shaped human head to the right ; the hair indicated by curled lines and crescents arranged in a peculiar way, because the three crescents at the back and top of the head have their concavities towards the edge of the coin, *i.e.*, away from the head, and within each concavity are a couple of fine rods ; around all is an outer circle of large pellets.

Reverse.—A horse prancing to the left; in front of its head is the letter S reversed; above is a ring of pellets enclosing a larger pellet; above this, again, is a square of nine compartments each enclosing a pellet; on each side of the tessellated square is a crescent, that over the horse's head being the longer and ending in a pellet; the whole within a beaded outer circle similar to that on the obverse: of fine gold; weight 36·1 grains. Another specimen in my cabinet from the same obverse and reverse dies only weighs 30·1 grains. (Lot 295, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 141—

Obverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 140, but has a larger and coarser head.

Reverse.—Above the horse, moving to the left, is a rosette of pellets between and below two curled lines, one of which encloses a pellet: of fine gold; weight 31·1 grains. (Lot 2, O'Hagan Sale.)

The following bronze coins also belong to the Parisii :—

FIG. 142 (*Traité*, Fig. 346)—

Obverse.—Head, wearing casque to the right: the helmet has an open crescent above and a wreath in the lower half: in front of the face is a series of adjoining crescents with convexities towards the head, two of which enclose pellets; the whole within a thick outer and thin inner circle, both plain.

Reverse.—A fairly well-shaped horse prancing to the left: above is a horizontal S and beneath are a pellet and an object like a vase without pedestal; the whole within a beaded circle enclosed by a plain circle: of cast bronze; weight 74·4 grains. (Lot 295, Stroehlin Sale.)

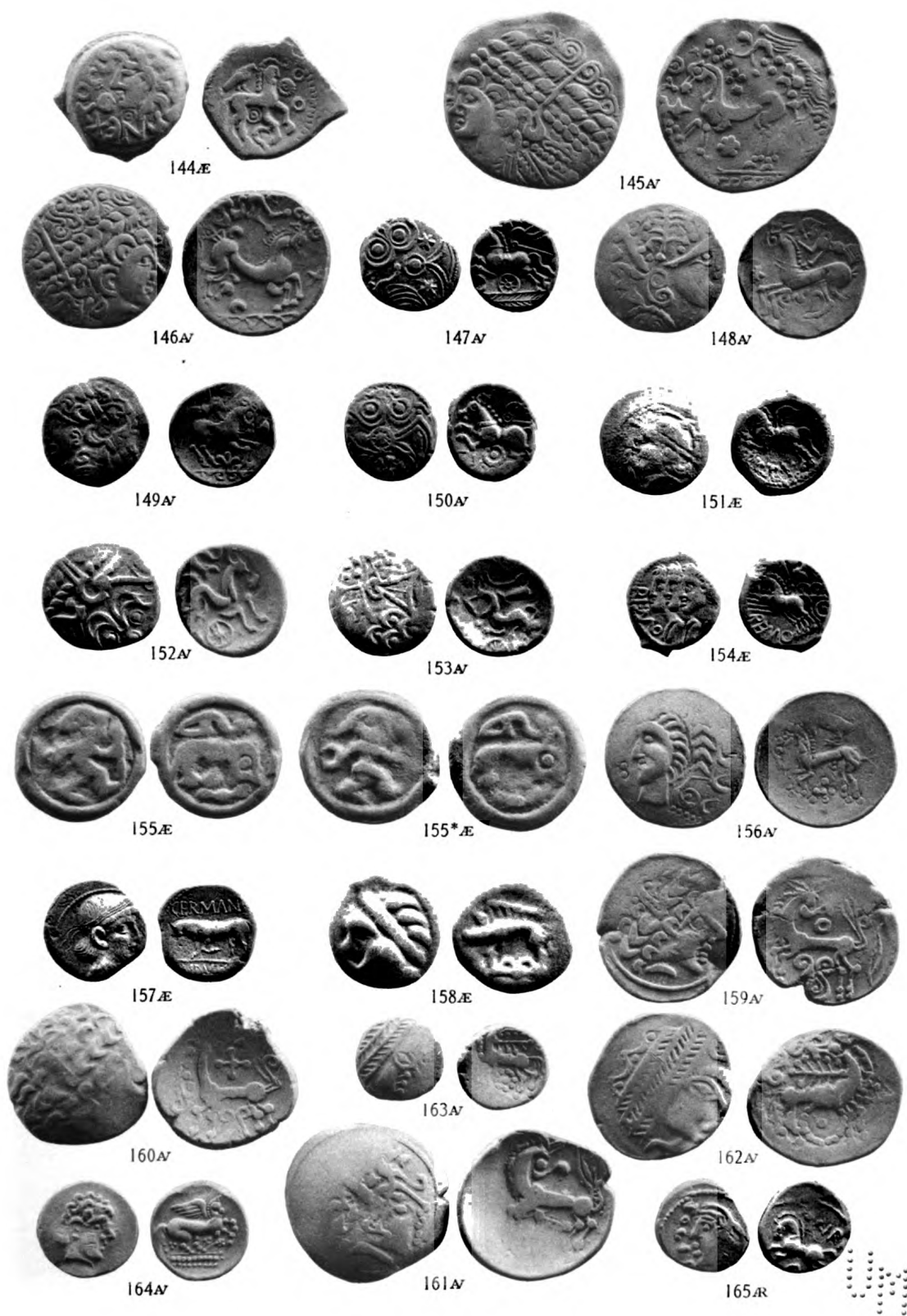
FIG. 143—

Obverse.—Similar to that of Fig. 142.

Reverse.—Differs from that of Fig. 142 in having a ring-ornament below the horse between it and the vase and pellet, in addition to an annulet above and below its tail: of cast bronze; weight 58·7 grains. (Lot 295, Stroehlin Sale.)

Plate VI, FIG. 144 (*Traité*, Fig. 347)—

Obverse.—Human head to the left of good design; the ear well shown; the hair consists of long wavy curls which project beyond



GAULISH COINS.

Plate VI.



the forehead ; in front the legend VENEXTOC reading from below upwards, the V and E being in monogram ; in the field between the face and legend are two ring-ornaments.

Reverse.—A man-headed horse to the right ; above is a bird holding a beaded (?) serpent or the horse's mane ; below is a ring-ornament and the upper portion of the letter S ; in front of the horse are three ring-ornaments, that in the centre being beaded ; the whole within a beaded circle : cast bronze ; weight 81·8 grains. (Lot 295, Stroehlin Sale.)

5. The BELLOVACI certainly possessed the diocese of Beauvais and possibly that of Senlis, both in the department of the Oise. The following gold staters and quarter-staters are assigned by French numismatists to this tribe. Similar coins are found in the South of England and were claimed for the Ancient British Series by the late Sir John Evans, who wrote in 1864 "on the whole evidence there can be but little doubt of their being of British rather than of Gaulish origin." During the last fifty or sixty years very many of these coins have been found and described in France, and I believe Sir John Evans was mistaken.

FIG. 145 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXII, 7886, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—Large head to the left with the lower part of the neck covered with drapery ornamented by plain, jagged and beaded lines. The front hair is represented by three large crescents each containing a small solid crescent ; the back hair is arranged in two tiers of flowing locks, that farther from the wreath being larger, with curled-up extremities ; the wreath across the head is formed of a double row of oval leaves and at right angles to this is a plain band round the back of the head, terminating in a crook-shaped hook opposite the lowest crescent of the front hair.

Reverse.—A disjointed horse to the left ; the legs represented by double lines with pellets at the joints ; below is a rosette of seven pellets ; above, a disjointed winged Victory over an oval wheel with numerous pellets, stars and a ring-ornament in the field. Below the plain exergual line is a row of S-shaped ornaments or letters : of fine gold ; weight 113 grains. This specimen was found at Notley, in Essex, in 1835, and is very similar to *Evans* Pl. A, 4, which was found at Leighton Buzzard in 1849. (Lot 34, Skelton Sale.)

FIG. 146 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXII, 7878, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—Resembles Fig. 145, but the head is to the right; the arrangement of the back hair differs also in consisting of serpentine scrolls and open crescents, while the front hair is increased by smaller S-shaped figures and pellets.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the right with peculiar triple tail behind another which is pig-shaped; above is a Victory with the arms well indicated, one hand holding the reins; in front are two crescents, a ring-ornament and a four-rayed plain star; below are a bird-like object and a small solid crescent; below the exergual line are zig-zags: of fine gold; weight 117·8 grains: found in France and very similar to *Evans* Pl. A, 6, found in England. (Consul F. Weber's Sale.)

FIG. 147 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXII, 7941, *Var.*). This fine stater is also assigned to the Bellovaci, although Monsieur Blanchet gives it to the Suessiones (*Traité*, Fig. 373, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—In the centre is a ring-ornament, to the right of which is attached a triangular compartment with double-beaded borders extending to the margin of the coin; this resembles the peculiar eye in the Treveri coins, see Figs. 123, 124, etc.; above and below is a six-rayed star symmetrically placed. To the left and above are two ring-ornaments within two joined crescents; the joined ends of the latter are bifurcate between the ring-ornaments; the whole effect resembling an owl's face inverted. Below and to the left is a wing-like object composed of curved lines, joined by a serpentine line ending in a pellet near the central ring-ornament.

Reverse.—A well-shaped horse wearing a collar, galloping to the left; above is a crook-like object composed of a straight line, an annulet and a crescent with cross-lines; below is an eight-spoked wheel on an ornamented exergual line composed of a feather pattern with the rays diverging upwards and downwards to the right, between three parallel lines: of fine gold; weight 90·7 grains. (Lot 300, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 148 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXII, 7895) is a gold half-stater—

Obverse.—Well proportioned head to the right; the ear represented by a large open crescent with coiled-in ends; above the thickened eyebrow is an object resembling a fir tree with large cones at the ends of the branches; the back hair consists of closed crescents and



the beaded and concave truncation of the neck has two symmetrically placed and coiled lines in its concavity.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the left; above, the driver with long pig-tail to his hair is holding the reins; in front is a four-rayed star; below is a V-shaped object between two curled lines: of fine gold; weight 58.2 grains.

FIG. 149 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXII, 7899) is a gold quarter-stater—

Obverse.—A wreathed head to the left: the ear is represented by a hollow crescent; the irregularly arranged locks of hair extend over the neck.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the right; above, a rudely designed Victory with hair ending in a pig-tail; below is an exergual line between a lys-like object above and a row of broken annulets below: of fine gold; weight 28.8 grains.

6. The VEROMANDUI, “whose name was preserved in the old name of Vermandois, occupied the diocese of Noyon, or the northern part of the department of the Aisne and the eastern part of that of the Somme.” I possess no coins of this tribe.

7. The SUESSIONES “possessed the diocese of Soissons, that is to say, the greater part of the department of the Aisne and possibly something more”—

FIG. 150—

Obverse.—Very like Fig. 147, assigned to the Bellovaci. In the centre is a ring-ornament with internal rays between and attached to a large pellet on the left, and a double bordered triangle with convex base on the right: directly above are two ring-ornaments each within adjoining crescents with concavities upwards like an owl's face inverted; below is a portion of a large circle enclosing a star with (?) eight rays pattée.

Reverse.—A horse galloping to the left wearing two collars, one on the neck and the other behind the shoulder; a large feather-shaped ornament extends from its long ears to the right, and is separated from its trunk by a fibula or crook-shaped object, consisting of a horizontal line, a ring-ornament and a crescent crossed by a rod; below is a beaded ring-ornament between the horse and the legend [CRI]CRV, the letters being inverted and reading from right to left: of fine gold; weight 88 grains. (Lot 367, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 151 is a bronze coin attributed to the Suessiones (*Traité*, Fig. 375)—

Obverse.—Head wearing casque to the left within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A winged horse moving to the left, below the legend CRICIRV reading from left to right; the whole within a beaded circle : of cast bronze ; weight 44·7 grains.

8. The REMI.—“ The territory of the Remi included not only the diocese of Reims and that of Laon, which was severed from it in the fifth century, but also that of Châlons.”

FIG. 152 (*Traité*, Fig. 383), a gold stater—

Obverse.—A wreath to the left, the leaves of which diverge in opposite directions above and below two parallel thin lines which divide it ; this doubled line is continued by a thicker crescent with convexity downwards, to an annulet almost completely filled by a large pellet, from which extend two diverging rods, the effect being very like a bird's curved neck and head with widely open beak ; below and to the right are two hollow crescents which are joined by a small loop, and have each in their concavities a ring-ornament with a third ring-ornament between them ; below and to the left is an object resembling the upper portion of a harp with three strings.

Reverse.—A disjointed horse to the right with an eight-spoked wheel beneath it ; the tail is triple ; above are traces of the arms of a Victory : of fine gold ; weight 90·5 grains.

This coin should be compared with *Evans* Plate B, 9.

FIG. 153 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXII, 8018) is another gold stater—

Obverse.—A large eye in profile to the right composed of a central triangle with an annulet at the apex and a large oval enclosing an elongated pellet at the base ; above, and to the left, are two rows of pellets representing the wreath, which is divided by two converging lines ; below and to the right are four crescents arranged two and two with concavities to the right, each enclosing a pellet ; below and to the left is a harp-shaped object with strings.

Reverse.—A disjointed horse to the left ; above is a horizontal vase from the upper handle of which extends a curved beaded line, also a large rayed pellet ; below is a portion of an eight-rayed wheel : of fine gold ; weight 92·5 grains. (Lot 406, Bougerol Sale.)

FIG. 154 (*Traité*, Fig. 386). This interesting coin of cast bronze has been much discussed and it has not yet been settled whom the three heads on the obverse really represent, whether three Gaulish chieftains, or the triumvirs, Antony, Lepidus and Octavius, or representatives of the three tribes at the head of which were the Remi, or lastly a tri-cephalic deity—

Obverse.—Three youthful heads in profile to the left with the hair curled forwards: below are three pairs of curved lines, one thin and one thick, representing the drapery on the shoulders; in front is the legend REMO reading from above downwards: the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A winged charioteer holding a whip and driving two galloping horses to the left; the body of the chariot above the spoked wheel is indicated by two crescents, each enclosing a trefoil; below the horses is the legend REMO: bronze; weight 46.2 grains.

FIGS. 155 and 155* (*Traité*, Fig. 395) represent a coarsely cast bronze coin which has been wrongly attributed to the Catalauni or Catuvellauni, a dependent tribe of the Remi—

Obverse.—A man walking to the right holding in front a vertical spear and behind a circular shield or large ring, the whole within a plain circle.

Reverse.—A large-headed nondescript animal moving to the right; above an object composed of a triangle with a curved tail, somewhat resembling a large-headed serpent; the whole within a plain circle: bronze; two specimens are illustrated to give the full details; weights 70 and 65 grains respectively.

9. The LINGONES “possessed the diocese of Langres, as it was before the diocese of Dijon was severed from it.” No coinage is assigned to this tribe.

10. The LEUCI “possessed the ancient dioceses of Verdun and Toul, as they were before the dioceses of St. Dié and Nancy were severed from them, or the department of the Vosges and the southern parts of the departments of the Meuse and Meurthe-et-Moselle.”

FIG. 156 (*Traité*, Fig. 399). A gold stater—

Obverse.—A coarsely designed head to the left; the hair next the face is represented by a series of adjacent short crescents, and the wreath by a number of V's inverted in a closed compartment, the lowest V has one arm continued into a coil enclosing a pellet; the back hair consists of crescents having their concavities away from the head and each enclosing a pellet; below the hair is a row of pellets; in front of the mouth is a trefoil of three pellets.

Reverse.—Partially double struck so that the horse, moving to the left, appears to have two heads; above is a bird looking to the left; below is a star of five pellets: of fine gold; weight 113.7 grains.

FIG. 157 (*Traité*, Fig. 119). This beautifully struck bronze coin, attributed to the Leuci, has been copied from a type of the Emperor Augustus—

Obverse.—A fine head to the right: the neatly arranged hair is bound by a fillet of three lines (not leaves as illustrated in the *Traité* which is a copy of Plate XXXVII, 9248 in the *Atlas*) terminating in two wavy streamers behind; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A bull moving to the left with the left fore leg bent and raised off the ground; there is a girth of one thick line between two thin lines round its trunk; above the animal is the legend GERMANV[S]; below the exergual line is the legend [I]NDVTI[LLIL]; the whole within a fine beaded circle: bronze; weight 41.7 grains.

FIG. 158 (*Traité*, Fig. 403) is a roughly cast bronze coin which is also attributed to the Leuci—

Obverse.—A barbarous head to the left; the hair is represented by three thick and solid crescents behind a wide and solid wreath.

Reverse.—A boar moving to the left with a thick ridge of vertical lines on its back; the animal stands on an exergual line to which is attached, between its legs, a lys-like object: bronze; weight 43.8 grains.

11. The MEDIOMATRICI, whose chief town was Divordurum (Metz), had for neighbours on the north the Treveri, on the west the Remi, and on the south the Leuci and the Sequani. The territory of the Verodunenses (*Viroduni*) is generally included in that of the Mediomatrici, separating the latter from the Remi. The gold coins attributed to these two tribes are remarkable for their large size without corresponding

increase of weight, and for the peculiar horse with head twisted back on the reverse.

FIG. 159 (*Traité*, Fig. 407, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A large human head to the right with long nose; the front hair is represented by a straight row of small crescents with concavities to the face; the wreath consists of a series of rather angular crescents with concavities upwards; the back hair is also composed of crescents and pellets and is divided by a T-shaped figure, the stem of which extends forwards, dividing the wreath; the truncation of the neck is ornamented below by vertical lines, giving it the appearance of a brush or comb; the whole is within a plain circle.

Reverse.—A peculiarly shaped horse moving to the left; its bird-like head is twisted round to face its tail, which is composed of a long spiked portion enclosing a rod and has attached to it an annulet; to the right of the tail is a bow-shaped object; below the horse is an incomplete double ring-ornament, the outer circle of which, instead of being continuous above, terminates in diverging outward curls, something like a vase; above the horse is an annulet: of fairly good gold; weight 109.2 grains. (Lot 306, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 160 (*Traité*, Fig. 407, *Var.*) is another gold stater much resembling Fig. 159—

Obverse.—A head to the right with the face almost obliterated; the peculiar T-shaped ornament bisecting the wreath is better shown.

Reverse.—The horse's mane is represented by a row of pellets attached to a line which terminates below in a floral curl; above the horse is a cross composed of five pellets joined together: of fine gold; weight 105.8 grains. (Lot 306, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 161 is another stater of base gold—

Obverse.—Of similar type to the previous two coins, but the truncation of the neck is plain.

Reverse.—Of similar type to the preceding but there is a lyre under the horse, the bird-like head of which is very marked: weight 99.6 grains. (Lot, 300, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 162 (*Traité*, Fig. 408). This gold stater is of another type, especially on the obverse—

Obverse.—The line representing the nose terminates above in an oval enclosing the eyeball; the hair is covered by a peculiar head-dress,

the chief portion of which is composed of three vertical rows of herringbone pattern between four parallel lines; it is completed behind, to the left, by a line broken up into three acute angles, each enclosing a pellet; above and below the face is a scroll.

Reverse.—A bird-headed horse moving to the right; the head is looking backwards over a horizontal tree of nine branches which is attached to the neck of the animal; below the horse is a beaded ring-ornament; in the field to the right is a cross composed of five pellets; attached to the horse's mouth is an S-shaped object, beyond which is a floral ornament: of good yellow gold; weight 106·3 grains. (Lot 306, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 163 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXVII, 9009) was evidently intended for the quarter-stater of Fig. 162—

Obverse.—A head to the right with the same peculiar head-dress.

Reverse.—A triple tailed horse to the left, with a similar horizontal tree over its trunk; each branch, as in Fig. 162, ends in a pellet; below the horse is a ring-ornament of pellets: of reddish gold; weight 26 grains.

FIG. 164 is a gold quarter-stater of yet another type which is assigned to these tribes—

Obverse.—A rather roughly designed human head to the right; the hair represented by numerous small crescents.

Reverse.—A Pegasus moving to the right; the legs have become degenerated into strings of small pellets; two trefoils of pellets and a star of pellets are beneath the animal; below the thin exergual line are two parallel rows of pellets, the upper row having much the larger pellets: of fine gold; weight 30·5 grains. (Lot 8, Beaufoy Sale.)

VI. THE COINAGE OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL GAUL embraces that of:—

1. The Sequani,
2. The Aedui,
3. The Bituriges Cubi and
4. The Arverni, in addition to a group described as belonging to
5. The Uncertain East which cannot be assigned to any specified tribes.

1. The SEQUANI inhabited a territory "which was bounded on the east by the Jura, which separated them from the Helvetii," and probably by the Rhine; "the western boundary was the Sône and near the south the Rhone; on the north-west and north their neighbours were the Lingones, the Leuci and the Mediomatrici." The dioceses of Besançon and Strasbourg and a portion of the northern part of that of Belley represent their area. The following silver and bronze coins are assigned to them—

FIG. 165 (*Traité*, Fig. 421)—

Obverse.—A helmeted head to the left; in front, the legend TOGIR[IX] reading from above downwards; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A horse with two collars, one on the neck and the other round the body behind the shoulders, moving to the left; above the legend TOGIRI[X]; below the horse a serpent (a portion only of it being visible on this specimen); the whole within a beaded outer circle: of fine silver; weight 30·6 grains.

Plate VII, FIG. 165*, is another specimen giving details not visible in Fig. 165. Weight 29·8 grains.

FIG. 166 (*Traité*, Fig. 147, *Var.*) probably belongs also to the Sequani—

Obverse.—A fairly artistic head to the left, the helmet decorated with two broken ring-ornaments; the truncation of the neck is thickened and has a collar composed of four upright rods close together; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A horse with antennæ-like ears moving to the left and wearing two collars as in Fig. 165; above are three letters which have been read as KAL; in front is an object like a Mercian Ω lying horizontally, and below is a four-spoked wheel: of good silver; weight 28·6 grains.

FIG. 167 (*Traité*, Fig. 420) resembles the previous three coins—

Obverse.—A helmeted head to the left; in front the legend [Q]DOCI reading from above downwards.

Reverse.—A horse with two collars moving to the left; above, is the legend QDO[CI]; below, the legend SAAF: of fine silver; weight 22·5 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 168 (*Atlas*, Plate XVII, 5611)—

Obverse.—A very barbarous head to the left, a large triangle forming the back of it; the whole within a plain circle.

Reverse.—A rat-tailed nondescript animal to the left; above is a ring-ornament with appendage to the right: of cast base bronze or potin; weight 51.1 grains. (Lot 8, Rashleigh Sale.)

FIG. 169 (*Traité*, Fig. 422)—

Obverse.—A well designed head to the right wearing a low crowned helmet; in front the legend T[OC] reading from below upwards.

Reverse.—A nondescript animal (? a lion) moving rapidly to the right; below, the legend TOC; the whole within a beaded circle: of base bronze or potin; weight 34.1 grains—a mutilated specimen. (Lot 8, Rashleigh Sale.)

2. The AEDUI inhabited "roughly speaking the country corresponding to the dioceses of Autun (Augustodunum), Chalon-sur-Saône (Cavillonum), Mâcon (Matisco), and Nevers (Noviodunum), the last three of which were severed from the primitive diocese of Autun. This territory corresponded with the departments of the Saône-et-Loire and Nièvre and parts of the Côte-d'Or and the Allier."

FIG. 170 (*Traité*, Fig. 15)—

Obverse.—A woman's head of fine design to the right; the hair is neatly arranged in two large V-shaped angles, the upper being corded and the lower plain with fine curved lines between them, and also within the upper there is a corded and a fine line at the back of the neck, which has a necklace ornament; in front of the face are an annulet and a large pellet with appendage.

Reverse.—A horseman galloping to the right holding a boar-standard at the top of a spear; commencing below between the horse's legs, and reading upwards to the right, in front and over the horse's head to the back of the rider, is the legend LIT AV ICOS: of fine silver; weight 26 grains.

FIG. 171 (*Traité*, Fig. 424) is another silver coin of much coarser design—

Obverse.—A helmeted head to the left.

Reverse.—A horse prancing to the left, from the chest of which extends a rod attached to an annulet similar to that seen in some ancient



165*AR



166AR



167AR



168Æ



169Æ



170AR



171AR



172AR



173AR



174A



174*AR



175A



177AR



176AR



178Æ



179A



180A



181A



182A



183A



184A

GAULISH COINS.

Plate VII

British coins, as *Evans* Plate E, 1 to 4, found in Sussex and Hampshire; in the field, above and below the animal, is a ring-ornament: of fine silver; weight 29.1 grains.

FIG. 172 (*Traité*, Fig. 429)—

Obverse.—A male head to the left with the ear indicated by a thick crescent, and the hair by a few melon seed-shaped pellets; on the neck are the thickened ends of a torque; the whole within a circle of large pellets.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the right, the trunk constricted by a narrow girth or collar; above and around the horse, reading from left to right, is the legend DIA[SYL]OS:¹ of fine silver; weight 29.3 grains.

FIG. 173 (*Atlas*, Plate XV, 5053)---

Obverse.—A helmeted head to the left with the vizor raised; the whole within two beaded circles, the inner of which is pierced by the vizor.

Reverse.—A bridled horse moving to the left with the double horse-collar arrangement similar to that seen on ancient British silver coins of the Iceni; in front the letter S reversed, above, the letters CONC retrograde, and below, an object resembling a penguin bird; the whole within a beaded circle: of fine silver; weight 29.5 grains. (Lot 1, Allan Sale.)

3. The BITURIGES CUBI “occupied the diocese of Bourges, which included the departments of the Cher and Indre and the north-western part of the department of the Allier,” that is to the west of the Aedui.

FIGS. 174 and 174* (*Traité*, Fig. 436). As is so frequently the case with Gaulish coins, two specimens are necessary to illustrate the complete obverse and reverse of this gold stater attributed to the Bituriges Cubi—

Obverse.—A well designed female (?) head to the left, with the hair neatly arranged in large clusters; above the truncation of the neck is a beaded collar; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A horse galloping to the left; above is a large bird with well-drawn outspread wings and legs; below is a trefoil of three ring-

¹ The letter A is formed of a pyramid of three uprights, see illustration.

ornaments; the legend ABVCATOS, reading from left to right, commences either above or below the fore-legs, and extends below and upwards to the right with the final OS below or above the tail; the whole within a beaded circle: of pale gold; weights 106 grains and 104·6 grains respectively. (Fig. 174 from Lot 242, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 175 (*Atlas*, Plate XIII, 4072) is a gold half-stater—

Obverse.—A female (?) head to the right; the hair arranged in large compartments, each enclosing a large oval nodule; the ear indicated by a crescent with a pellet at each extremity.

Reverse.—A horse stepping to the right, its fore-legs bifurcated down to the knees, and a bridle hanging from its mouth; on its back stands a long-legged and long-necked bird, like a crane; below is a large trefoil composed of three ovals, each enclosing a pellet, the whole within a beaded circle: of fine gold; weight 52·8 grains.

FIG. 176 (*Traité*, Figs. 446–7) is a silver coin attributed to the Bituriges Cubi—

Obverse.—A well-shaped head to the right, the hair arranged in large curl-ended locks.

Reverse.—A horseman galloping to the right, holding an oval shield behind; below is a symmetrically flower-shaped object composed of two hollow crescents with a ring-ornament between them above: of fine silver; weight 48·5 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 177 (*Atlas*, Plate XIV, 4131)—

Obverse.—A wreathed head, female, to the left, the hair neatly arranged with thick curls hanging down over and behind the neck; there is a beaded line above the truncation of the neck; the whole within an outer beaded circle.

Reverse.—A horse galloping to the left; above is a sword with point to the right; below is the legend CAMBOTRE reading from left to right, the CA being above the fore- and the E above the hind-legs; the whole within a beaded circle: of fine silver; weight 29·3 grains.

FIG. 178 (*Traité*, Fig. 443). This fine bronze coin, although it has analogies with similar coins of the Carnutes, is assigned to the Bituriges Cubi—

Obverse.—A well-shaped head to the left with the hair gracefully arranged; on the neck is a collar and the upper portion of the dress is indicated by oblique lines and a large pellet.

Reverse.—An artistic eagle with outspread wings; above in the field are a ring-ornament and a pentagon composed of three interlaced V's; below are similar objects and the legend [V]ADNIIROS, reading from left to right: of bronze; weight 56.1 grains. (Lot 305, Stroehlin Sale.)

4. The ARVERNI "territory, exclusive of the territories of their clients, is represented by the diocese of Clermont and part of that of St. Flour, which was severed from the parent diocese in the fourteenth century. This territory comprises the departments of the Cantal and Puy-de-Dôme and parts of those of the Allier and Loire-Supérieure. The Gabali, one of the client peoples of the Arverni, occupied the remaining part of the diocese of St. Flour."

The gold coins assigned to the Arverni are amongst the most interesting of the Gaulish series, because many of them represent some of the earliest and more or less degenerate copies of the beautiful gold stater of Philip II of Macedon.

FIG. 179 is a gold double-stater, which is attributed to this tribe, and was bought as such at the Stroehlin Sale, Lot 225, May 31st, 1910. Monsieur A. Blanchet is of opinion that no gold double-staters were coined by the Gauls, and would relegate this specimen to Asia (see *Traité*, pp. 213 and 214)—

Obverse.—A slightly degraded head of Apollo to the right; the laurel wreath is recognized with difficulty, consisting of leaves very similar to the adjacent short locks of hair; the back hair is arranged symmetrically on each side of a parting; the ear can be barely discerned; a spike projects downwards from the middle of the truncation of the neck.

Reverse.—A two-horsed chariot being driven to the right by a sitting figure, with knee and foot shown; it holds the reins in the left hand, whilst the right arm is prolonged in a straight line with the whip to the margin of the coin; the two wheels and axle pole are represented; below the horses is a bird-like object; beneath the slightly curved exergual line is the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ: of fine gold; weight 264 grains.

FIG. 180. A gold stater—

Obverse.—Rather blurred, but the head to the right shows little degradation of art; below the ear is a trefoil of pellets.

Reverse.—A Victory, driving a biga to the right, is above a four-spoked wheel; the joints and hoofs of the two horses have become degraded into pellets, each leg having three pellets; between the horses' legs is a monogram probably intended for the letters A and P; the place of the exergual line is taken by the rather degraded letters of the legend ΦΙΑΙΡΡΟΙ, beneath which is an oval object with wavy tail to the left; under the fore legs is a thunderbolt: of fine gold; weight 120·6 grains. (Lot 2, O'Hagan Sale.)

FIG. 181, is another gold stater assigned to this tribe—

Obverse.—A female head to the right; the wreath is well shown behind a fringe of large pellets representing the front hair; the truncation of the neck is ornamented with pearls, while on the neck itself is a triquetra of three shallow C's; there are floriated objects in front of the face as well as below the neck.

Reverse.—A very degraded Victory driving a two-horsed biga to the right; only seven legs of the horses are indicated, and two of the three fore legs have between them only one upper leg; below the horses are a triquetra similar to that on the obverse, a small upright crescent, a semicircle ending in pellets and an oval object with wavy tail to the right: of fine gold; weight 107·3 grains.

FIG. 182 (*Traité*, Fig. 452)—

Obverse.—A fairly good head to the left without wreath, all within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse.—A well proportioned horse prancing to the left; above and below the animal is a five stringed lyre; the whole within an outer beaded circle: of pale gold (*i.e.*, alloyed with silver); weight 114·1 grains.

FIG. 183 (*Traité*, Plate III, 3). This is a specimen of the gold stater of the Gaulish patriot chief Vercingetorix, of which few examples are known—

Obverse.—A man's head to the left; the hair is arranged in small curls without any wreath; in a good specimen the legend VERCINGETORIXS commences in front of the face and reads below the neck to the back of the head. My coin, unfortunately, only shows traces of some of the letters.

Reverse.—A well-shaped horse with long tail to the left; above, a large horizontal S and below, an amphora of which only a trace is present in this specimen: of fine gold; weight 113·7 grains. (Lot 316, Prankerd's Sale.)



185A



186R



187A



188A



189A



190R



190* R



191R



192R



193R



194R



195R



196R



197R



198R



199R



199* R



200R



201A



202R



202* R

GAULISH COINS.

Plate VIII

FIG. 184—

Obverse.—A rather degraded head, wreathed, to the right, the back hair being represented by tailed curls, the tails directed upwards, the ear by a small crescent enclosing a pellet, and the mouth by two pellets.

Reverse.—A horse with malformed fore legs; above is a human figure cut off at the thighs and holding aloft an object like a closed parasol; between the horse's legs is a thunderbolt, and below the curved exergual line, with concavity upwards, is a curved row of annulets in place of the letters of the legend: of fine gold; weight 122 grains.

Plate VIII, FIG. 185, is a gold quarter-stater—

Obverse.—A slightly degraded head, wreathed, to the right, the nose terminating in a thick crescent above two pellets for the mouth.

Reverse.—A Victory driving a two-horsed biga; the horses' legs are represented chiefly by three pellets each, as in the stater, FIG. 180; below the horses is a standard, composed of a crescent enclosing a pellet, at the top of a column consisting of two pellets: of fine gold; weight 29·8 grains.

FIG. 186 (*Traité*, FIG. 458) is an interesting silver coin attributed to Epadnactus, an Arvernian chief, after he had allied himself with the Romans—

Obverse.—A helmeted female head to the right with long straight curls of hair hanging down the back of the neck, on which is a beaded collar; in front is the legend EPAD reading from below upwards; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A warrior in a short tunic standing to the front and looking to the left: the right hand holds a winged standard, the upper portion of which is composed of three ring-ornaments placed one above the other: on the left side is a vertical spear and a circular shield with central boss; across the warrior's chest is a diagonal band, which is connected with the sword, the point of which extends beyond the lower margin of the shield; the whole within a beaded circle: of fine silver; weight 29·5 grains.

5. Coinage of the "UNCERTAIN EAST" of Gaul which cannot be assigned to any definite tribes.

FIG. 187 (*Traité*, Figs. 68 and 69)—

Obverse.—A degenerate head, wreathed, with large nose to the right; on the neck is a row of pellets.

Reverse.—A very coarsely designed Victory driving a two-horsed chariot to the right; the small four-spoked wheel is on the top of a pillar of three pellets; below the horse is a triquetra of three C's: of fairly good gold; weight 113.2 grains. (Lot 316, Prankerd Sale.)

FIG. 188 is another much cupped stater of pale gold—

Obverse.—Resembles, so far as it is visible, that of Fig. 187; but the truncation of the neck has a pellet at each end and there is no necklace of pellets.

Reverse.—A pair of extremely barbarous horses moving to the right; above them is a kneeling (?) human figure; below is a four-spoked wheel with large hub: extremely base pale gold; weight 103.7 grains. (Lot 10, Julius Witte Sale.)

FIG. 189 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXVI, 8930, *Var.*) is a gold quarter-stater—

Obverse.—A degenerate head, wreathed, with large nose resembling that of Fig. 187: the neck has a double truncation, one above the other.

Reverse.—A very barbarous horse moving to the right; each leg is composed of three pellets; above is a grotesque human figure with large pellets on the back; below is a plain cross and in front a crescent: of fine gold; weight 27 grains. (Lot 1, O'Hagan Sale.)

FIG. 190 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXII, 8291, *Var.*) is a silver coin attributed to the "Uncertain East—"

Obverse.—A well designed head, helmeted, to the left; above the truncation of the neck is a beaded line; below the helmet hang three tassels or locks of hair; behind the head is a cross bottonnée; the whole within two concentric beaded circles.

Reverse.—An artistic horse moving to the left and wearing the two collars; several star-like figures and a triangle in the field round the animal may represent letters: of fine silver; weight 28.3 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 190* (*Atlas*, Plate XXXII, 8291, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—Resembles Fig. 190 very closely, although only the lower portion of the head is on the coin.

Reverse.—Similar, but a rod projects horizontally from the horse's chest and terminates in a figure resembling the Mercian T; below is a triangle with a pellet at each angle: of fine silver; weight 28.2 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

VII. THE COINAGE OF THE RHONE VALLEY is classified by Monsieur A. Blanchet as follows :—

1. The Earliest Issue,
2. Coins of the Horseman type,
3. The Coins of the Allobroges and
4. The Coins of the Salasses.

1. THE EARLIEST ISSUE.—

FIG. 191 (*Traité*, Plate II, 13, *Var.*) is a small silver coin which is an imitation of a Roman coin struck in the Campagna during the Punic Wars in the third century B.C.—

Obverse.—A rather archaic but neat head to the right with a single row of locks of hair in front of the curved wreath; on the cheek is a love lock; the back of the head is indicated by a series of S-shaped lines; the truncation of the neck is beaded; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—Spirited head and neck of a horse to the right; the mane is represented by a row of four Y's, each with a large curled tail and an outer curved line of joined pellets; below is a legend of indistinct letters which has been read as KASIOS: of fine silver; weight 37 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 192 (*Traité*, Fig. 123, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A wreathed head to the left; in front a portion of an outer beaded circle.

Reverse.—A coarsely designed horse prancing to the left, with pellets to represent the joints of its legs; above a (?) piece of mistletoe, *viz.*, a sloping branch on which are five berries: of fine silver; weight 36.5 grains. (Lot 1, Allan Sale.)

2. COINS OF THE HORSEMAN TYPE.—These are imitations of Roman consular deniers from 119 to 27 B.C.

FIG. 193 (*Traité*, Fig. 126, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A winged and helmeted head to the right; the neck ornamented by a beaded line and a series of vertical lines extending to the edge of the coin; in front the letters BR[1] reading from below upwards.

Reverse.—A horseman galloping to the right ; below is the legend COMA, the C being under the tail ; the obverse and reverse legends read therefore BRICOMA ; between the legend and the horse's trunk is a fine annulet : of fine silver ; weight 33·3 grains. (Lot 1, Allan Sale.)

FIG. 194 (*Traité*, Fig. 124)—

Obverse.—A helmeted head to the right ; in front, reading from below upwards, the legend DVRNACOS.

Reverse.—A horseman with lowered spear galloping to the right ; below, the legend AVSCRO ; all within a beaded outer circle : of fine silver ; weight 29·1 grains.

FIG. 195 (*Atlas*, Plate XVII, 5795)—

Obverse.—Similar to that of Fig. 194, but with the legend DVRNACVS and with beaded outer circle.

Reverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 194, but with the legend [D]ONNV[S] below the horse : of fine silver ; weight 25·8 grains.

3. The ALLOBROGES were separated from the Helvetii by the Rhône and their most northerly town was Geneva ; their other important towns were Vienna (Vienne) and Culazo (Grenoble) ; “ the greater part of their territory lay between the Rhône, the Isère and the lake of Geneva.”

FIG. 196 (*Atlas*, Plate VII, 2917)—

Obverse.—A well-shaped and helmeted head to the right ; the helmet is peaked and plumed ; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A hippocampus (fish-tailed horse) moving to the right ; it has two collars, one round the neck and the other round the trunk immediately behind the shoulders ; the tail turns up and ends in two equilateral triangles on the same base ; there are two abdominal fins : of fine silver ; weight 34·2 grains.

FIG. 197 (*Traité*, Fig. 128)—

Obverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 196, but the head is to the left ; on the truncation of the neck is a short rod with pellets at each end, and a curved line.

Reverse.—Also resembles that of Fig. 196, but the hippocampus is moving to the left, and has only one abdominal fin ; the whole within a beaded circle : of fine silver ; weight 36·6 grains. (Lot 1, Allan Sale.)

FIG. 198 (*Traité*, Fig. 127, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A wreathed head to the right.

Reverse.—A very degraded horned animal (? deer) to the right ; below is an irregular star : of base silver ; weight 31·8 grains. (Monsieur Henri De La Tour of the Bibliothèque Nationale kindly gave me this attribution at Easter, 1912.)

4. The SALASSES were an Alpine tribe which, according to Strabo, owned gold mines. Unfortunately I have no specimens of their gold coins in my cabinet.

VIII. THE COINAGE OF THE SOUTH-WEST OF GAUL comprises :—

1. The coins of the Longostaletes.
2. The coins of the "Cross," including those of the Volcæ Tectosages and Volcæ Arecomici and their dependents the Tolosates.
3. Those of the Elusates and the Sotiates.
4. Those of the Cadurci.

1. The LONGOSTALETES are not represented in my collection.

2. COINS OF THE "CROSS" were issued, with others, by the Volcæ Tectosages and the Volcæ Arecomici, and their dependents, the Tolosates, who occupied the country comprised between the Rhône, the Cevennes, and the Garonne, a territory corresponding roughly with the departments of the Gard, the Hérault, the Tarn, the greater part of the department of the Haute-Garonne and part of the department of the Gers, *i.e.*, the dioceses of Agde, Lodève, Montpellier, d'Uzes, Nîmes and Alais, with the archbishopric of Toulouse and all that part of the diocese of Montauban which lies on the east of the Garonne. Many of their coins are degenerate imitations of the drachma of Rhoda with the head of Ceres on the obverse and a four-leaved rose on the reverse : other coins without the cross are also included in this section.

F 2

FIG. 199 (*Atlas*, Plate IX, 3132) is specially assigned to the Volcæ Tectosages—

Obverse.—The flan being, as is usually the case with these coins, much too small, only a portion of a human head to the left is seen, viz., the eye, a trace of the nose and a few locks of hair.

Reverse.—A plain cross extending to the margin of the coin; in two adjacent angles is a melon seed-shaped object which lies in the concavity of a solid crescent in a specimen with a larger flan; in a third angle is an axe hafted, and in the fourth is an oval ring of which only a portion is visible: of fine silver; weight 37·2 grains.

FIG. 199* is another similar coin—

Obverse.—Showing more of the head with the ear represented by a pellet within a crescent.

Reverse.—Showing the complete axe: of fine silver; weight 40·7 grains.

FIG. 200¹ (*Atlas*, Plate VI, 2621) is a silver coin which is assigned to the Volcæ Arecomici—

Obverse.—A coarse head wreathed to the left; an oblique plain line separates the face from the hair, the anterior portion of which is represented by a row of large pellets.

Reverse.—A horse moving to the left with deformed fore legs; above is the legend VOL and below is a portion of a four-spoked wheel: of fine silver; weight 18·6 grains.

FIG. 201 (*Traité*, Fig. 475) is a bronze coin also attributed to the Volcæ Arecomici—

Obverse.—A woman's head (?) Diana, to the right; the hair neatly arranged in three masses, the lowest resting on the back of the neck; behind the head is the legend VOLCA reading from below upwards.

Reverse.—A man in a toga standing to the left; in front of him is a vertical object like a feather or a branched tree, and on his right is the legend AREC reading from below upwards: the whole within a beaded circle: bronze; weight 25·8 grains.

¹ In the illustration the position of the obverse and reverse should be transposed.

3. THE ELUSATES AND THE SOTIATES.—“The Elusates occupied the country round Eauze : their frontiers cannot be traced, but they apparently possessed the north-western part of the department of the Gers and a fraction of the southern part of that of the Lot-et-Garonne. The Sotiates occupied the northern part of the *civitas Elusatium*, or the country round Sos in the department of the Lot-et-Garonne.”

FIG. 202 (*Traité*, Fig. 158) is a very characteristic silver coin assigned to the Elusates—

Obverse.—In the centre are two pellets with long curved tails ; in front are three pellets, one of which has an appendage and two objects resembling short dumb-bells ; below are a ring-ornament and a crescent enclosing a pellet ; behind are two peculiar objects like barred gates, each composed of five parallel lines with a cross bar.

Reverse.—A grotesque horse standing to the left, its trunk being composed of two large pellets joined by a horizontal line ; the long rat-like tail and the mane are decorated by short rays ; above the animal is a V-shaped object enclosing a small pellet and resembling an arrow-head, the point of the arrow touches the horse's back ; below is a quadrilateral figure, inside which is a vertical rod springing from the middle of the base : of fine silver ; weight 44.3 grains. (Lot 476, Prankerd Sale.)

FIG. 202*—

Obverse.—Very similar to Fig. 200, but one barred gate has seven palings and the other six palings instead of only five each ; the two “dumb-bells” are well shown ; the large pellet to the right has two straight diverging tails ; below is a bent line, like a boomerang, beneath which is a row of pellets just visible on the edge of the coin.

Reverse.—Corresponds exactly with that of Fig. 202 : of fine silver ; weight 45.9 grains.

Plate IX, FIG. 203 (*Traité*, Fig. 143, *Var.*) is a silver coin assigned to the Sotiates and known as the “negro-head” type.

Obverse.—A head of negro character to the left ; the hair has a fuzzy look, the curls at the circumference being composed of a series of interlocked S's ; the nose is much tilted and the lips prominent.

Reverse.—Resembles that of the “cross-type” series ; a large plain cross with central pellet extends to the margin of the coin ; in

one quarter is an annulet within a crescent; in the adjoining quarter is a pellet within a crescent, and in each of the other two quarters are a large and a small pellet: of debased silver; weight 40·2 grains. This coin has also been attributed to the Volcæ Tectosages.

4. The CADURCI “were dependents of the Arverni; and their territory corresponded with a part at least of the diocese of Cahors, in other words of the department of the Lot.” The following silver coins are assigned to this tribe—

FIG. 204 (*Traité*, Fig. 147)—

Obverse.—Extremely barbarous head to the left, consisting chiefly of crescents and pellets; the neck portion is composed of two crescents joined by a pellet, and with a pellet at each outer end; there is a third crescent attached to them above.

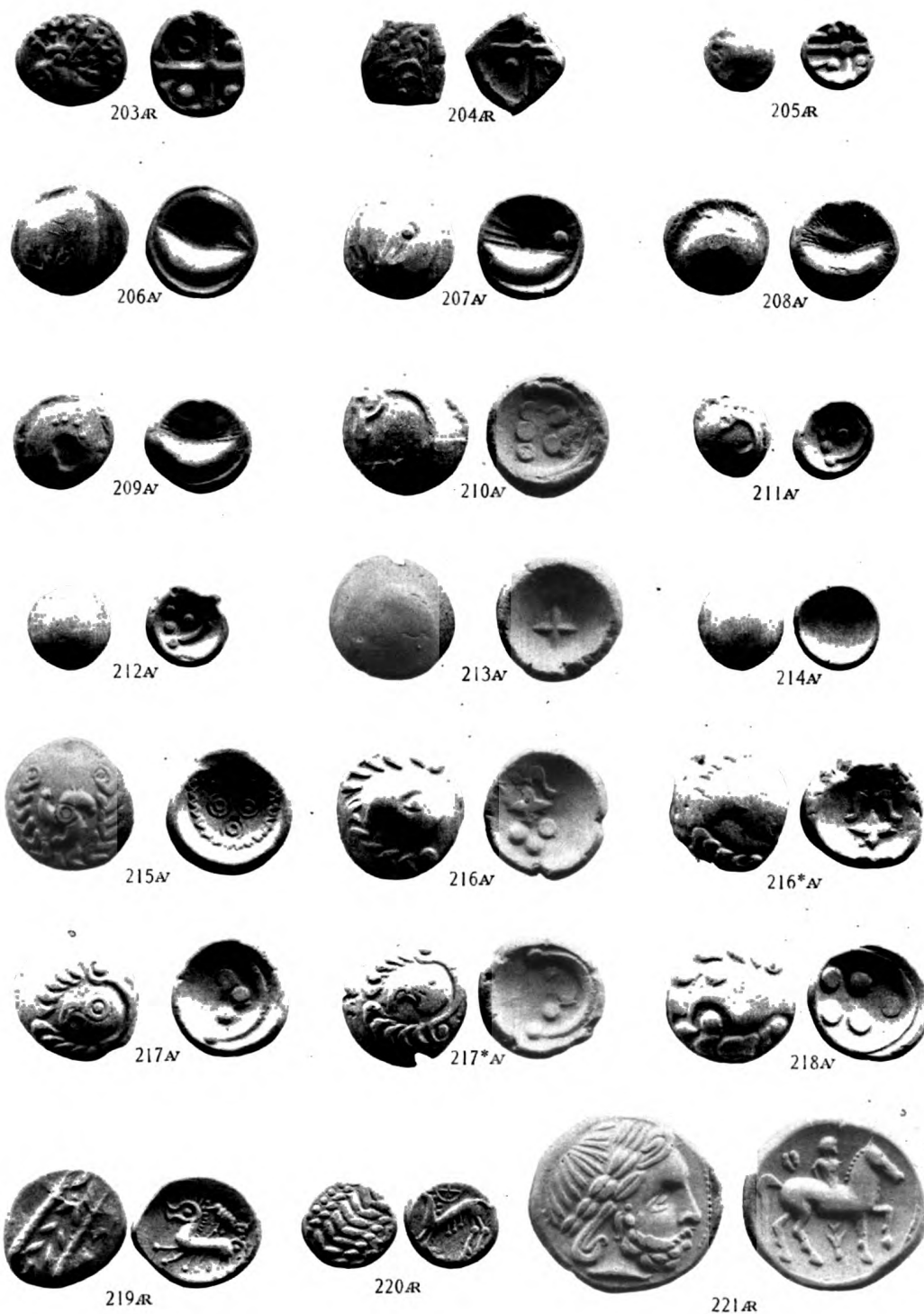
Reverse.—A cross resembling that of Fig. 203, with a pellet in two opposite quarters, a crescent and a pellet in the third quarter and a V-shaped figure composed of two pellets and three rods in the fourth quarter: of fine silver; weight 45·3 grains.

FIG. 205 (*Traité*, Fig. 146, for reverse)—

Obverse.—A central boss surrounded by radiating lines to the margin of the coin.

Reverse.—A similar cross to that of Fig. 204; in each of three quarters is a pellet with two diverging rods, and in the fourth quarter, (?) a portion of a crescent: of fine silver; weight 10·7 grains.

IX. THE CELTIC COINAGE OF CENTRAL EUROPE.—A collection of ancient Gaulish coins would not be complete without some specimens belonging to the Celtic tribes of Central Europe of which the *Boii* were the most important. The Boii had a settlement on the Danube from very early times in part of modern Bohemia (anciently Boiohemum = “land of the Boii”). About 60 B.C. some of the Boii migrated to Noricum and Pannonia, when 32,000 of them joined the expedition of the Helvetii into Gaul, and shared their defeat near Bibracte: they were subsequently allowed by Cæsar to settle in the



GAULISH COINS.

Plate IX.

territory of the Aedui between the Loire and the Allier. The following gold staters and divisions of the stater are attributed to the Boii—

FIG. 206 (*Traité*, Fig. 485)—

Obverse.—A large central convexity surrounded by a depressed border of varying width; on one side of the central boss is an object like a human hand with the thumb and four fingers spread out away from the depressed margin of the coin.

Reverse.—The surface is cupped and in the centre is a small circular depression; below this is a large solid crescent with concavity upwards, comparable with a quarter new moon; a number of fine lines radiate from the central depression and cover the whole upper half of the coin with the exception of a minute solid crescent above the right horn of the large crescent: of fine gold; weight 107·5 grains. (Lot 184, Stroehlin Sale.)

This is a typical “rainbow cup” coin or Regenbogen-schüsselchen of German numismatists. Some authorities describe the reverse as “sun over crescent moon.”

FIG. 207 (*Atlas*, Plate XL, 9449)—

Obverse.—Similar to Fig. 206, with the addition of a pellet in the centre.

Reverse.—The radiating lines above the quarter moon are thicker and less than half so numerous as on the reverse of Fig. 206; there is a small oval pellet instead of a crescent above the right horn: of fine gold; weight 91·5 grains. (Lot 190, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 208—

Obverse.—Similar to that of Fig. 206, but instead of the human hand there is a small ring-ornament near the centre of the boss, while the depressed border of the field is marked by striæ.

Reverse.—Only differs from that of Fig. 206 by the fine radiating lines being divided by a central very thick ray with a large oval object at right angles at its base, and by the absence of the small crescent on one side: of fine gold; weight 101·7 grains. (Lot 190, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 209—

Obverse.—Differs from Fig. 208 by having an oval depression on the central boss, above which is a crown of four pellets.

Reverse.—Similar : of fine gold ; weight 101·7 grains, viz., exactly the same weight as the previous coin. (Lot 193, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 210 (*Traité*, Fig. 492) is another type of the gold cupped stater—

Obverse.—The whole field is convex ; on it is a large headed serpent in the form of a crescent with concavity to the left ; the eye is very pronounced and the back near the head is notched.

Reverse.—Is very concave and has a torque, with enlarged ends, surrounding two-thirds of its surface near the margin ; within the torque are six large pellets symmetrically arranged, three as a trefoil and three in a vertical line : of fine gold ; weight 115·5 grains. (Lot 171, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 211 is a gold quarter-stater—

Obverse.—Of the same type as Fig. 210.

Reverse.—The torque only encloses three pellets : of fine gold ; weight 28·7 grains. (Lot 190, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 212 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXIX, 9426) resembles Fig. 211—

Obverse.—Convex, and almost plain.

Reverse.—Similar to last : of fine gold ; weight 28·5 grains. (Lot 184, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 213 is a gold stater—

Obverse.—Plain central boss.

Reverse.—A simple cross near the centre of the plain concave surface : of fine gold ; weight 114 grains. (Lot 193, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 214 (*Atlas*, Plate XL, 9450 and 9451) is a gold quarter-stater which is a veritable miniature cup, being quite plain on both sides except for—

Obverse.—A line of oval pellets close to the margin, and again, close to this beaded ornamentation is a slightly raised oval with a prolongation on each side.

Reverse.—Plain : of fine gold ; weight 26·7 grains. (Lot 193, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 215 (*Traité*, Fig. 536) is a pale gold stater which has been found near the Rhine—

Obverse.—A central triskeles composed of three horns, each tipped with a pellet and starting from a common ring-ornament ; this

is surrounded for three-fourths the circumference of the coin by a large crescent consisting of V-shaped leaves with apices downwards; each arm of the crescent ends in a ring-ornament.

Reverse.—A horizontal line of five ring-ornaments above a trefoil of three double concentric annulets; the whole within a circle of V-shaped leaves with apices directed outwards; the leaves of the circle are interrupted on opposite sides by the outermost two ring-ornaments: of very pale gold, or electrum (a natural alloy of gold and silver); weight 102·6 grains.

FIG. 216 and FIG. 216* (*Traité*, Fig. 526) are two specimens of another type of gold stater of the Boii—

Obverse.—A bird's head with large beak to the left within a large crescent open to the right, composed of V-shaped leaves with apices to the left; each end of the crescent terminates in a large pellet.

Reverse.—A thick-rayed cross between a lys-shaped object above and a trefoil of three large pellets below: of fine gold; weights 114·5 grains and 113·8 grains respectively. (Lot 176, Stroehlin Sale and Lot 318, Prankerd Sale.)

FIG. 217 and FIG. 217* (*Atlas*, Plate XXXIX, 9434)—

Obverse.—Similar to those of Figs. 216 and 216* with the addition behind the bird's head, to the right, of a plain crescent, each end of which terminates in a curl enclosing a pellet.

Reverse.—A large pellet-ended crescent, or torque, enclosing three pellets: of fine gold; weights 115·4 grains and 115·7 grains respectively. (Lot 171 and Lot 183, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 218 (*Traité*, Fig. 491) is another variety of the bird-headed stater—

Obverse.—A bird's head to the left without the eye, being quite plain, within a crescent of V-shaped leaves open to the right; above and below the bird's beak is a large pellet.

Reverse.—A large thin torque encloses five pellets; two of the latter have a few fine rays connecting them with the torque: of fine gold; weight 113·5 grains. (Lot 317, Prankerd Sale.)

FIG. 219 (*Traité*, Fig. 502) is a silver coin attributed to the Boii of the Transpadene—

Obverse.—A wreath between two corded parallel lines crossing the whole field; to the right are traces of a small human full face between two reversed S-shaped figures.

Reverse.—A nondescript animal (? a horse) moving to the left ; attached to its abdomen are three pellet-ended appendages ; on its back is a bird to the left ; below the branched tail is a pellet : of fine silver ; weight 38.1 grains.

FIG. 220 (*Atlas*, Plate LII, 9933) resembles Fig. 219—

Obverse.—Is crossed by a wide wreath between two parallel rows of oval and smaller leaves ; in front is a zig-zag line and behind a line of pellets.

Reverse.—Has an animal similar to that of Fig. 219, but a four-spoked wheel in place of the bird : of fine silver ; weight 34.6 grains.

The following nine silver coins found in Transylvania (Hungary) and adjoining countries are imitations with increasing degradation of the tetradrachms of Philip II, King of Macedon.

FIG. 221 (*Atlas*, Plate XLVI, 9721)—

Obverse.—Bearded head to the right ; the hair already shows some degradation of art ; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A horseman moving to the right ; his legs have disappeared ; behind is a V or wreath of pellets ; below is a vertical plant-like object : of fine silver ; weight 200 grains. (Lot 387, Stroehlin Sale.)

Plate X, FIG. 222 (*Atlas*, Plate XLVI, 9740)—

Obverse.—A still fairly artistic head, bearded, to the right ; the row of back hair next the wreath is almost similar to the leaves of the latter, while the front hair is represented by pellets within crescents.

Reverse.—A horse to the right ; above, a grotesque man cut short below the waist ; with one arm raised in front, and the other lowered behind ; below the horse is an object comparable with a human figure with the knees joined by a pellet ; between the horse's fore legs an S-shaped figure with right-angular corners, in front is a crescent with curled ends ; behind the rider is a symbol like a tailed M : of fine silver ; weight 208.7 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 223—

Obverse.—A coarser bearded head to the right, the moustache and lips being represented by two angular lines one above the other ; the whole within a beaded circle.



222R



223R



224R



225R



226R



227R



228R



229R



230A



231A



232R



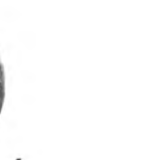
233R



234A



235A



GAULISH COINS.

Plate X.

Reverse.—A horseman riding a clumsy horse to the left above a beaded exergual line; in front an annulet; the whole within a circle composed of alternate pellets and short rods: of fine silver; weight 180 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 224—

Obverse.—A bearded head to the right; degeneration of art is exhibited by numerous curved lines of pellets in front of the nose and forehead, around the eye extending over the cheek, at the back of the jaw and below the truncation of the neck.

Reverse.—A horseman riding to the left; the reins and a whip are indicated; above is the Greek letter Π inverted and enclosing a pellet; the whole within a beaded circle: of fine silver; weight 171 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 225 (*Atlas*, Plate XLVIII, 9794)—

Obverse.—A degraded bearded head to the right; the wreath is composed of ovals enclosing melon seed-shaped pellets, and the beard is represented by similar leaves; the whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A grotesque horseman riding to the left with a spear held erect in one hand while the other rests on the haunches; a wavy line curls backwards and downwards from the top of the rider's head; the legs of the horse are bifurcated half-way down; in front is a small four-spoked wheel; above, in the field, are an angular reversed S of square formation and two inverted Π 's; below are an inverted V and a pellet with a short beaded exergual line; the whole within a beaded circle: of fine silver; weight 197.2 grains. (Lot 327, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 226—

Obverse.—A degraded bearded head to the left: it is difficult to distinguish between the leaves of the wreath and the locks of hair; on the neck is a triangle with its base indented, enclosing a similar but smaller triangle.

Reverse.—A horse, with triple tail, prancing to the left: the legs are bifurcated the whole way down with pellets at the joints; above is a heart-shaped object with an annulet beneath a legend of five degraded letters resembling the Greek Π ; in front is a V: of fine silver; weight 184.7 grains. (Lot 387, Stroehlin Sale.)

FIG. 227 (*Traité*, Fig. 520) exhibits almost the last stage of degraded art ; the coin is much cupped—

Obverse.—An extremely degraded head to the right ; an angular line representing the nose and forehead, and two angular lines the mouth ; the ear is indicated by an oval ; above the forehead is a semicircle enclosing two smaller semicircles ; the thick jaw extends to the top of the head ; in front is the letter S with a pellet in each curl.

Reverse.—An extremely stout horse, with thin legs, moving to the right ; there are apparently three fore legs, one being raised ; the lower half of the head is composed of an oblong, the lower border of which is thicker ; a horseman is evidently intended to be represented by two oblique parallel lines springing from the back of the horse and terminating above in a wavy oval attached to a tailed pellet ; the rider's foot is visible below the horse's abdomen ; beneath are three pellets joined in a horizontal line : of base silver ; weight 162·2 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 228 (*Atlas*, Plate XLIX, 9630) is a very degenerate silver coin, small and thick—

Obverse.—A very degraded head, wreathed, to the right ; the wreath consists of two rows of pellets separated by a plain line ; at the top of the wreath is a large annulet, tailed, enclosing a broken annulet ; the nose is represented by a straight line ending in a pellet.

Reverse.—A horseman riding to the right ; the horse is extremely thick bodied with thin legs and large hoofs : of debased silver ; weight, 181 grains. (Lot 9, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 229. A large and much-hollowed silver coin, which is the last and most degraded of this series—

Obverse.—The head is so mixed with strings of pellets and curved lines, S-shaped and oval lines, that it is impossible to say to which side it is turned.

Reverse.—A large horse to the left with better shaped legs ; its mane consists of a series of horizontal lines bounded by a plain line, resembling a ladder ; above is a ring-ornament of pellets, arched by a curved line of pellets : of base silver ; weight 150·5 grains.

Another Celtic tribe was the HELVETII, "whose original home was the country between the Hercynian forest (probably the Rauhe Alp), the Rhine and the Main. In Cæsar's time, they appear to have been driven farther west, since, according to him (Bell. Gall. I, 2, 3), their boundaries were on the west the Jura, on the south the Rhone and the Lake of Geneva, on the north and east the Rhine as far as Lake Constance. They thus inhabited the western part of modern Switzerland . . . according to Cæsar, they were the bravest people of Gaul."¹ The following gold and silver coins are attributed to the Helvetii.

FIG. 230 is a rather cupped gold stater—

Obverse.—A head to the right with low forehead, long straight nose and retreating chin; the hair consists of a row of large pellets in front and of solid crescents irregularly arranged behind; below the high truncation of the neck is an object resembling a thunderbolt; closely surrounding the head is an outer zig-zag circle composed of closely set V's with the angles directed inwards and joined together by short rods.

Reverse.—A very barbarous horse being driven to the left by a degenerate Victory above a five-spoked circular wheel; the Victory has one hand touching the horse's mane consisting of pellets, while the other is raised; the reins are visible not only above the horse's back but extend as four reins in front of the horse's neck, two extending to its mouth and two joining a (?) crescent in the field; below the horse is a kidney-shaped object with concavity upwards; across it are vertical lines; below the wheel is a triangle with a pellet in each angle: of pale gold (? electrum); weight 112 grains.

FIG. 231 (*Atlas*, Plate XXXVIII, 9311) is a gold quarter-stater—

Obverse.—A fairly good wreathed head to the right.

Reverse.—A small barbarous horse being driven to the left by a very large but well proportioned Victory over a four-spoked oval wheel; the horse's head consists of a crescent moon at the top of two pellets, one below the other; from its mouth springs a double crescent with concavity upwards, and its legs are composed chiefly of pellets: the reins are seen below the arms of the Victory as in

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, article, Helvetia.

Fig. 230; below the horse is a large curled serpent to the left; traces of letters are visible below the plain exergual line: of fine gold; weight 29.5 grains. (Lot 295, Stroehlin Sale.)

The following two small silver coins are attributed to the Helvetii by Monsieur A. Blanchet —

FIG. 232 (*Traité*, Fig. 532)—

Obverse.—A human figure in a sitting position to the left over two annulets: the right arm is raised in front and the left arm lowered behind; between the uplifted arm and the knees is an object like a double Mercian T, consisting of a horizontal line ending above and below in two curved lines on each side near the margin of the coin: below the figure is a serpent curved on itself to the right, its head consisting of two pellets, one in front of the other.

Reverse.—An extremely dislocated horse to the left; the head is apparently represented by a new-moon crescent and two large pellets joined by a short rod in dumb-bell fashion at a considerable distance from the animal's breast; below the head is a pellet and above the back is a large V-shaped cluster of pellets: of base silver; weight 23.1 grains. (Lot 318, Stroehlin Sale.)

This coin and the next have also been assigned to the Vindelici.

FIG. 233 (*Traité*, Fig. 533, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A human figure sitting on a curve of pellets to the right; both arms are raised and bent at the elbows; the hands are connected to the head by a curved line on each side.

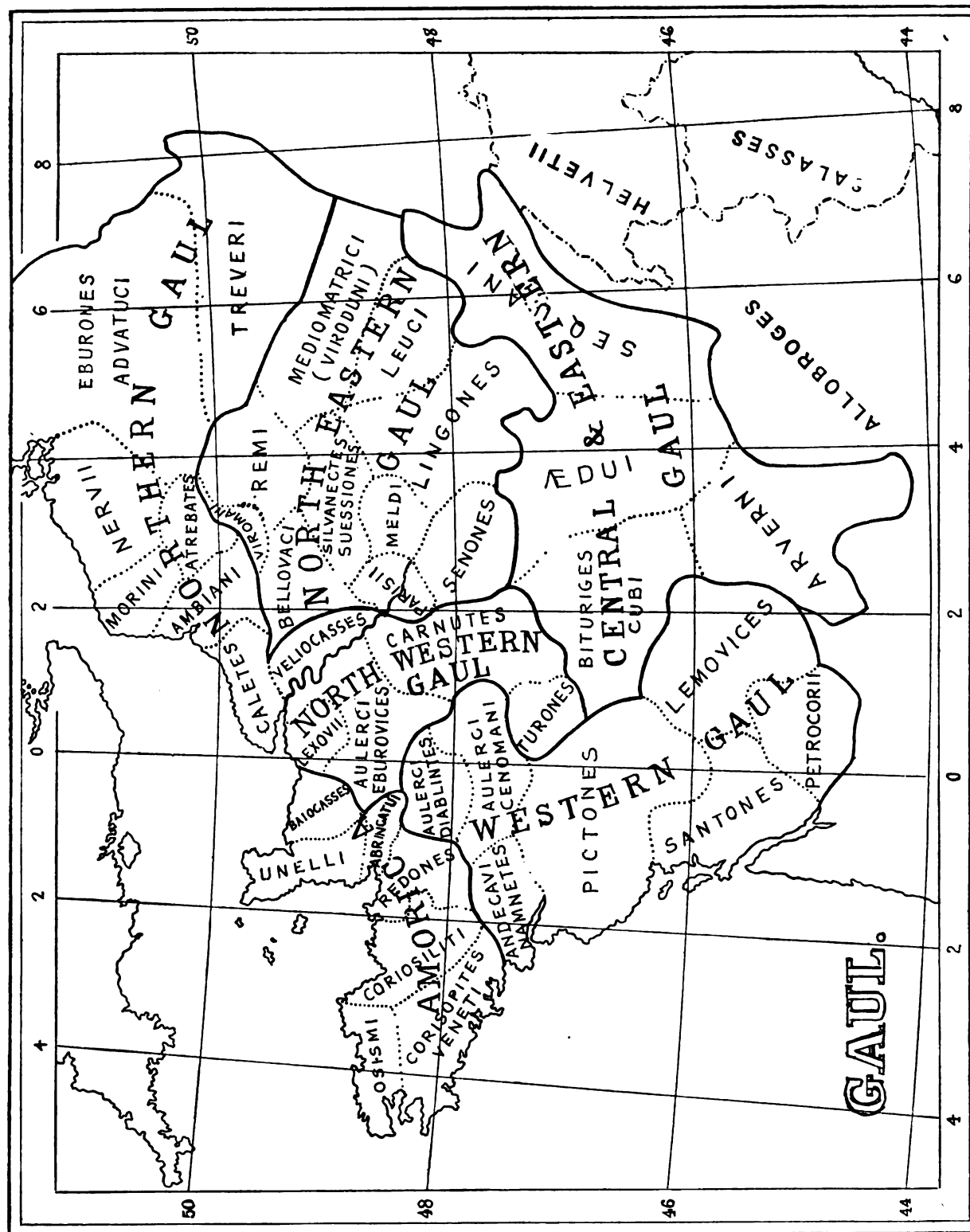
Reverse.—A horse (?) to the right with its monstrous head turned to the left over the back; a large annulet representing the eye causes this monstrosity of the head; the mane is indicated by a few rayed lines; the whole within a circle consisting of zig-zags: of base silver; weight 16.6 grains.

I conclude with two interesting gold coins which are barbarous imitations of the fine gold stater of Lysimachus (355–281 B.C.), one of the successors of Alexander the Great: they are usually included in the Gaulish series.

FIG. 234 (*Atlas*, Plate L, 9601 and 9603, *Var.*)—

Obverse.—A barbarous wreathed head to the right; the back hair has become transformed into a series of six birds without legs

79



(martlets): the front hair consists of pellets, whilst a single curved row of leaves represents the wreath. Four horizontal parallel rods, surmounted by three rods on end, replace the ear.

Reverse.—An extremely barbarous copy of a helmeted Minerva, with spear, sitting on a chair to the left and holding in front of her a small figure of Victory; below is a trident lying horizontally; on either side is a vertical column of “compressed” pellets which really replace the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΛΤΣΙΜΑΧΟΤ of the original beautiful Greek coin: of fine gold; weight 97·3 grains. (Lot 8, Beaufoy Sale.)

FIG. 235. This gold stater is holed—

Obverse.—A barbarous wreathed head to the right, somewhat like that of Fig. 234: above the line of the brow, which curls up in front, are two birds with legs, and below the chin is a third similar bird with a pellet; the front hair is represented by more or less horizontal lines, each ending in a pellet towards the face, while the ear is indicated by a thin crescent of which each end is a pellet: the back hair consists of a series of shallow crescents with concavities upwards.

Reverse.—Resembles that of Fig. 234, but shows still further degradation of type: the head of Minerva is an open square with a pellet in the centre; to the right of the head is an object like a Mercian T and the lower end of the spear terminates in a cross botonnée: of fine gold; weight 80·6 grains. (Lot II, Rashleigh Sale.)

There are upwards of 12,000 Gaulish coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, so that I have been able to give only a very general view of this wonderfully diverse coinage. I trust, however, that this paper will be sufficient to prove the correctness of Sir John Evans's contention for the intimate relationship of the ancient British and Gaulish coinages, and to induce British numismatists to take a more practical interest in this numismatic *entente cordiale* of some two thousand years ago.

A FIND OF ROMAN BRONZE COINS ON THE LITTLE ORME'S HEAD, NORTH WALES.

SUPPLEMENT No. 2.

By W. SHARP OGDEN, F.S.A.

THIS interesting and important hoard has already been described at considerable length in the two papers which have appeared in the pages of this *Journal*, vol. iii, pp. 17-58, and vol. vi, pp. 5-12, but since their publication a selection of about 200 pieces, which had been sold previously to the writer's first examination of the find in 1902, and fortunately preserved intact, has been recovered and the additional types and particulars are here given in detail. This selection evidently had been made to comprise as many varieties as possible, in which the find was unusually fertile, and thus it has provided a number of examples not recorded in the previous lists. These newcomers also help to show that most of the types were issued simultaneously from the mints of Britain and Gaul, and by their similarity in design and workmanship they point to a central authority controlling all the western mints of the Empire, which, if we may judge from the preponderance of types and varieties, appears to have been directed from London.

The list of Imperators represented is also increased by single examples of Quintillus, Probus and Numerianus, all pieces of fine work and well preserved, and the additions now recorded increase the total number of types and varieties of type represented by the find as follows :—

	Types only.		Types and their Varieties.	
British Mints ...	...	25	..	172
Gaulish and other mints	...	17	...	138
		—		—
		42		310

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The following table corrects the names, places of mintage, and the approximate number of pieces of each Emperor.

Emperors.	A.D.	Mints.	Pieces in find.
QVINTILLVS	270-	Treveris, probably	1
AVRELIANVS	270-275	ditto	1
SEVERINA	270-275	—	1
PROBVS	277-282	—	1
NVMERIANVS... ..	282-284	—	1
DIOCLETIANVS	284-305	Treveris, Antioch	2
MAXIMIANVS HERCVLES ...	286-305	Britain, Gaul ...	approx. 50
CARAVSIVS (Britain) ...	287-293	ditto — ...	1
CONSTANTIVS CHLORVS ...	292-306	ditto Gaul ...	approx. 20
GALERIVS	292-311	Alexandria ...	1
VALERIA	311	Siscia	1
ALLECTVS (Britain) ...	293-296	Britain	2
MAXIMINVS DAZA	305-313	ditto Gaul ...	approx. 50
CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS ...	306-337	ditto ditto ...	„ 3,500
LICINIVS-I (Pater)	307-324	ditto ditto ...	„ 1,400
			Total 5,032

It will be noticed that out of an approximate total of 5,032 coins, 4,900 belong to Licinius and Constantinus Maximus, and many of these are undoubtedly of the first or early issues, as the types “PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS,” etc., indicate. Their generally fine condition shows also that they were practically uncirculated. The coins of Licinius are of the father only and do not include any of the numerous issues in the name of the son, who was declared Cæsar in A.D. 317.

This seems to confirm the date of the deposit of the hoard, as previously surmised, to about the year A.D. 310. It is a matter for regret that this, in many ways a remarkable find, was not examined in

BRITISH MINTS.



GAULISH MINTS.



its entirety. Parcels had been separated from it, but as quite three-fourths of the coins have now been most carefully examined by the writer, it is not probable that under more fortunate circumstances the number of types or varieties would have been materially increased, if at all.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TYPES AND THEIR VARIETIES.

The numbers lettered 1A, *et cetera*, are to be read as supplementary to the detailed lists appended to the previous papers, and as if the coin so described immediately followed that referred to under the original number.

Britain.

LICINIUS I (Pater), Emperor, A.D. 307-324.

PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS · type, as No. 38, British mints.

No. 28A, Æ 3, 80 gs. *Reverse*.—As type, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}^*$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · LICINIVS ·
P · F · AVG.

CONSTANTINUS MAXIMVS, Emperor, A.D. 306-337.

PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS type, as No. 34, British mints.

No. 34A, Æ 2, 100 gs. *Reverse*.—As type, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}^*$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right, large head :
IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
Plate V, No. 1.

No. 37A, Æ 3, 62 gs. *Reverse*.—As type, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}^*$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to left, laureated helm,
but with spear and shield to front of
bust : CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
Plate V, No. 2.

PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS type, as No. 38, British mints.

No. 40A, Æ 3, 68 gs. *Reverse*.—As type, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}^*$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to left, ornamental
helm laureated, spear and shield to
front of bust : CONSTANTINVS · P ·
AVG. Plate V, No. 3.

G 2

No. 40B, Æ 3, 67 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}^*$.*Obverse*.—Bust to left, without helm, but with shield, and spear on right shoulder :
CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.

Plate V, No. 4.

PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS, type, as No. 42, British mints.

No. 46A, Æ 3, 65 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}^*$.*Obverse*.—Bust to left, with pallium, eagle surmounted sceptre to front in right hand : CONSTANTINVS · AVG.

Plate V, No. 5.

ADVENTVS · AVG · N · type, as No. 47, British mints.

No. 47A, Æ 3, 74 gs.

Reverse.—As type No. 47, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}^*$.*Obverse*.—Cuirassed bust to right, CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.

No. 48B, Æ 3, 69 gs.

Reverse.—As type No. 47, epigraph omits N · after AVG. $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}^*$.*Obverse*.—Cuirassed bust to right : CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

No. 48C, Æ 3, 65 gs.

Reverse.—As No. 48.*Obverse*.—Bust to left, laureated helm of rich work ; shield, and spear on right shoulder, fine work. Plate V, No. 6.

ROMAE · AETER · AVG · G · type as No. 49, British mints.

No. 49A, Æ 3, 71 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}^*$.*Obverse*.—Bust to right : CONSTANTINVS · AVG.

MARTI · CONSERVATORI type, as No. 64, British mints.

No. 64A, Æ 3, 68 gs.

Reverse.—As type, no mint-mark.*Obverse*.—Paludated bust to right : IMP
CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

COMITI · AVGG · N · N · type, No. 67, British mints.

No. 71A, Æ 3, 67 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}^*$.

Obverse.—As No. 71, but the helm has radiated crown in place of wreath :
CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.

Plate V, No. 7.

No. 74A, Æ 3, 69 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}^*$.

Obverse.—As No. 74, but the head is without helm, and is laureated.

Plate V, No. 8.

No. 74B, Æ 3, 72 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}^*$.

Obverse.—As No. 74A, but the shield has enriched border : CONSTANTINVS · AVG.

SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI · type, as No. 87, British mints.

No. 89A, Æ 3, 53 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{S | F}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—As No. 89, but has titles IMP
CONSTANTINVS · AVG.

No. 90A, Æ 3, 55 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{* |}{\text{PLN}}$. S · F omitted.

Obverse.—As No. 90. F omitted in epigraph.

SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI type, No. 117, British mints.

No. 118A, Æ 3, 73 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{* |}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—As No. 118 : IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P
AVG.

VICTORIAE · LAETAE · PRINC · PERP · type, as No. 139A, British mints.

No. 139D, Æ 3, 50 gs.

Reverse.—As type, but with plain cippus,
festoon, etc., omitted.

Obverse.—As No. 139A.

Gaulish Mints.

QUINTILLUS, Imperator, A.D. 270.

Type of reverse : Genius standing to left, sceptre in left hand, globe at feet :
PROVID · AVG.

No. 139E, Æ 3, 49 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{\text{T}}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, paludated and with radiated crown IMP · QVINTILLVS AVG · of very fine work.

Plate V, No. 9.

PROBUS, Imperator, A.D. 277–282.

Type of reverse: Genius standing to right, with caduceus and horn of plenty · TEMPOR · FELICI · $\frac{|}{|}$.

No. 139F, Æ 3, 60 gs.

Reverse.—As type.

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed and with radiated crown · IMP · C · PROBVS · P · F · AVG. Plate V, No. 10.

NUMERIANUS, Imperator, A.D. 282–284.

Type of reverse: Mars, nude and marching to right with spear and trophy: MARS · VICTOR.

No. 139G, Æ 3, 60 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{|} \text{C}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed and with radiated crown IMP · C · NVMERIANVS · AVG. Plate V, No. 11.

DIOCLETIANUS, Imperator, A.D. 284–305.

GENIO · POPVLI · ROMANI type, as No. 1, British mints.

No. 139H, Æ 2, 155 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{\text{B} | \Gamma}{\text{PTR}}$.

Obverse.—Laureated head to right: IMP · DIOCLETIANVS · P · F · AVG. Plate V, No. 12.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULES, Imperator, A.D. 286–305.

GENIO · POP · ROM type, as No. 1, British mints.

No. 141A, Æ 2, 86 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{\text{S} | \text{C}}{\text{PTR}}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed and paludated: · D · N · MAXIMIANO · P · F · S · AVG. Plate V, No. 13.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, Imperator, A.D. 292–306.

MEMORIA · FELIX type, as No. 3, British mints.

No. 144A, Æ 2, 95 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{|}{\text{PTR}}$.

Obverse.—Veiled and laureated bust to right:
DIVO · CONSTANTIO · PIO.

Plate V, No. 14.

LICINIUS I (*Pater*), Emperor, A.D. 307–324.

Three standards, S · P · Q · R type, as No. 50, British mints.

No. 164A, Æ 3, 62 gs. *Reverse.*—As type, $\frac{|||}{MOSTQ}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed and paludated:
IMP · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG.

Type of reverse: Jupiter, with sceptre and fulmen, seated upon eagle with expanded wings, IOVI · CONSERVATORI · AVG ·

No. 164B, Æ 3, 48 gs. *Reverse.*—As type, $\frac{|}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Imperial bust to left in pallium with
sceptre and fulmen (?) in right hand:
IMP · LICINIVS · AVG · tin washed.
Plate V, No. 15.

CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS, Emperor, A.D. 306–337.

PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS type, as No. 34, British mints.

No. 165A, Æ 2, 124 gs. *Obverse and reverse.*—Similar to No. 165, but
inscribed FL · VAL · CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C ·
Plate V, No. 16.

GENIO · POP · ROM · type, as No. 1, British mints.

No. 166A, Æ 2, 116 gs. *Obverse and reverse.*—As No. 166, but inscribed
IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG ·
Plate V, No. 17.

No. 170A, Æ 2, 129 gs. *Obverse and reverse.*—As No. 170, but no letters
in field of reverse $\frac{|}{PLC}$.

MARTI · CONSERVATORI type, as No. 57, British mints.

No. 172A, Æ 3, 60 gs. *Reverse.*—As type, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—As No. 172, but the bust is cuirassed
and paludated. Plate V, No. 18.

No. 175A, Æ 3, 56 gs. *Obverse and reverse.*—As No. 175, but the
reverse is lettered $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$. This piece is of very
fine work. Plate V, No. 19.

Type of reverse: Mars, nude, standing to right, helmed, with spear and shield · MARTI · PATRI · CONSERVATORI ·

No. 182A, Æ 2, 111 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{T | F}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed · IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG ·

Plate V, No. 20.

Type No. 50, British mints.—Three standards, S · P · Q · R, etc.

No. 185A, Æ 3, 69 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{| | |}{MOSTQ}$.

Obverse.—As No. 185, but the bust is paludated.

Type as No. 33, British mints · MARTI · PATRI · PRO · PVGNATORI ·

No. 187A, Æ 2, 85 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{S | A}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Youthful bust to right, cuirassed: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG ·

Plate V, No. 21.

SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI type, as No. 117, British mints.

No. 220A, Æ 3, 49 gs.

Reverse.—As type, $\frac{S | F}{PARL}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed and paludated, very fine work: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG ·

Plate V, No. 22.

VICTORIAE · LAETAE type, as No. 139A, British mints.

No. 257A, Æ 3, 47 gs.

Reverse.—As type, but with panelled altar $\frac{|}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—As No. 139B, tin washed.

Plate V, No. 23

THE NAMES OF OLD-ENGLISH MINT-TOWNS: THEIR ORIGINAL FORM AND MEANING AND THEIR EPIGRAPHICAL CORRUPTION—*Continued.*

BY ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.HIST.SOC.

II. THE NAMES OF OLD-ENGLISH MINT-TOWNS WHICH OCCUR IN THE SAXON CHRONICLES.

CHAPTER I (A—I).

WHAT we speak of generally as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is really a collection of chronicles which were preserved in seven different manuscripts. These manuscripts are denoted by the letters $\mathfrak{A}$, A, B, C, D, E, F. The chronicles contained in these manuscripts are four in number, and they are distributed as follows:— $\mathfrak{A}$ and its transcript A; B and C, which were copied at different times from one and the same manuscript; D, which stands to some extent by itself; and E and its epitome F. It is to these seven manuscripts that we are mainly indebted for the close, and, at times, strangely intimate knowledge that we possess of affairs in England before the Norman Conquest.

In order to employ these authorities correctly we must inquire in certain directions as to the present *situs* or location of each, and also its date, provenance, and dialect. Our particular object also requires us to extract from the several authorities the names of the particular mint-towns to the early existence of which they severally bear witness.

Our considerations, therefore, fall under four heads:—

- § 1. The Editions of most importance.
- § 2. The Manuscripts, their *situs*, provenance and dates.
- § 3. The Dialects.
- § 4. The Place-Names: *a*, Index; *b*, Analysis.

§ 1. THE EDITIONS OF MOST IMPORTANCE.

In 1892 there appeared at the Clarendon Press a revised text of *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with supplementary extracts from the others*, edited by Charles Plummer, M.A. This was followed, after an interval of time spent by Mr. Plummer in editing the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of the Venerable Bede, by a second volume containing *Introduction, Notes and Index* (1899). The *Glossary* forms part of the volume giving the texts. It includes not only every word which occurs in the two manuscripts selected for reproduction, viz., *A* and *E*, and in the supplementary extracts, but also registers every variation of grammatical form and spelling which the texts and the extracts present. The second volume comprises an *Introduction* of cxxxvii pages of minute, helpful and erudite criticism of the manuscripts; their characteristics and mutual relationship; the numerous scribes who brought them up to date from time to time; and the annotations, interpolations and mutilations to which they have severally been subjected.

In one passage (*Introduction*, cxxv, note 2) Mr. Plummer speaks of his great obligations to an earlier edition of the *Chronicles*, adding that it had never been out of his hands during the progress of his own work, and avowing that without it the writing of many of his critical notes would have been difficult, and the composition of his *Introduction* impossible. The edition referred to is Benjamin Thorpe's. It appeared in 1861, being No. 23 in the series "*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*," published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. It is entitled *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle according to the Several Original Authorities*. Thorpe's plan consisted in printing all six texts in parallel columns, and, defects in execution apart, that plan is superior to any other, whether conflation is pursued, where possible, as in Henry Petrie's edition in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848, pp. 291–466); or whether illustrative and parallel passages are printed apart, as in Mr. Earle's edition (1865), or Mr. Plummer's.

§ 2. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

MSS.	Library and Collection.	Press Mark.	Place of Origin of the parent chronicle or part thereof.	Dates of the Scribes.			Reference to Mr. Plummer's Introduction.
				No.	Latest annal.	Written circa.	
A	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	No. CLXXIII.	Winchester	1	892	900	pp. xxiv, xxv, xxvii, note 2.
				2-7	922	930	
				8	955	960	
				9	968	970	
				10	1001	1002	
B	British Museum : Cotton Collection	<i>Tiberius A VI.</i>	Canterbury	11	1066	1075	pp. xxviii, xxix.
			Abingdon			1000	
C	do. do.	<i>Tiberius B I.</i>	Abingdon	several		1050 -1070	pp. xxx, xxxi.
D	do. do.	<i>Tiberius B IV.</i>	Evesham	1	262	1050	pp. xxi, xxxiv.
					[lacuna]		
				2	1016	1050	
				3	1052	1055	
				4, 5	1054	1060	
				6	1061	1061	
				7	1065	1070	
				8	1071	1075	
				9	1100	1100	
E	Oxford : Bodleian Library	<i>Laud Miscel.</i> No. 636.	Peterborough	1	1121	1125	pp. xxxiv, xxxv.
				2-5	1154	various dates	
F	British Museum : Cotton Collection	<i>Domitian A VIII.</i>	Canterbury	1-5	1121	1121	p. xxxv.
				6	1154	1155	

§ 3. THE DIALECTS OF OLD ENGLISH.

The oldest records of the English language belong to about the end of the seventh century. At that time four chief dialects are clearly discernible : namely, Kentish, West Saxon, Mercian, and Northumbrian. These dialects maintained themselves for several centuries, but great changes began to operate in the reign of King Ethelred II., (978–1016), and an unconscious movement towards unification and simplification of orthography then set in. Among the more salient characteristics of intellectual effort in England in the ninth century and the tenth, were the artificial, alliterative tone of the national poetry, and the delicacy and conventionalism of the written language. It is with the last-mentioned characteristic that we are now concerned. Until the reign of King Ethelred the orthography of the West-Saxon language was markedly systematic and historical. In his time we know, however, that it had ceased to represent unaffected pronunciation, and that the old orthographical customs were losing their vogue. Many changes had insinuated themselves into the pronunciation of common words, and these naturally affected the spelling. Forms of words that were not West Saxon at all had found their way into West-Saxon documents, and some of the changes that are supposed to be attributable to Norman-French influences were foreshadowed before the Norman Conquest.

The correct language of West-Saxon districts was essentially courtly in the tenth century, and its tradition dated from the middle of the ninth, at least. A laudable custom, adhered to by King Alfred in person, and imposed by him upon the members of his own family, did a great deal to maintain the vigour of the older forms of West Saxon, and prevented the language from declining earlier than it otherwise might have done. I refer to the custom of reading Saxon books, and learning the Saxon songs and sagas which many of them preserved. We have all read of King Alfred's mother offering with parental artfulness to give a book of Old-English poetry to which-so-ever of her sons would learn to read it first ; we know that King Alfred's chief relaxations were listening, by day and night, to the reading of English

poems, and learning them by heart; we are informed that at least two of his children, viz., Edward and Ælfthryth, were taught to read English books and chiefly English lays; and we are assured that the king used continuously to recommend others to commit to memory the old lays written, or re-written, by West-Saxon poets.

These admirable customs kept alive the old orthography, and tended to maintain what may be regarded as the classical pronunciation. The former, as I intimated just now, was highly conventional. How highly may be realized in some measure by having regard to the fact that eight vowel-letters in the Anglian dialect correspond to no fewer than sixteen letters and digraphs in West Saxon. I have chosen the Anglian dialect for this initial comparison because it is not extremely different from West Saxon in orthography. If, however, the Kentish dialect be cited we shall find the two vowels *ǣ* and *ē* representing as many as ten West-Saxon vowels and diphthongs between them.

In the following tables West-Saxon phonology is compared, first with the Anglian dialect of Mercia and Northumbria, generally; secondly, (*a*) with Mercian and (*b*) with Northumbrian peculiarities, particularly and severally; and, thirdly, with Kentish. (The sign + stands for *plus consonant*).

Anglian.	West Saxon.	Anglian.	West Saxon.
a	ea before l+	i	ie before a guttural or before rc, rg or rh
æ	ea before h or h+		io (<i>u</i> -umlaut)
	ea before r+ guttural		io before lc, lg, lh
	ea before a palatal	i	io before a guttural
	ie before h+ or l+		eo before a guttural
	ie (<i>i</i> -umlaut of ea)		u in the combination wu before a guttural
e	ie after a palatal	ǣ later ē ...	ēa before a guttural
	ie before r+	ē	ǣ (<i>regularly</i>)
	ie (<i>i</i> -umlaut of ea)		ēa after a palatal
	eo before lc, lg, lh, h, h+, rc, rg or rh		

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Anglian.	West Saxon.	Anglian.	West Saxon.
<i>ē (continued)</i>	<i>īe i-umlaut of ēa</i> <i>ēo before a guttural</i> <i>īe i-umlaut of ēa from</i> <i>older æ by breaking</i>	<i>ī (continued)</i> <i>io (u-umlaut) ...</i>	<i>īe before c or ht</i> <i>i before any single con-</i> <i>sonant except a labial</i> <i>or a guttural</i>
<i>ī ...</i>	<i>īo, ēo, before h or ht</i>	<i>io (o, a-umlaut)</i>	<i>i</i>

Mercian.	West Saxon.	Mercian.	West Saxon.
<i>æ for ea (by o-,</i> <i>a-umlaut)</i>	<i>a before a guttural</i>	<i>eo (by o-, a-</i> <i>umlaut)</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>ea (by a gut-</i> <i>tural umlaut)</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>eo ...</i>	<i>u in the combination wu</i>
<i>eo (by u-um-</i> <i>laut)</i>	<i>e before any single</i> <i>consonant except a</i> <i>dental or a liquid</i>	<i>īo, ēo ...</i>	<i>īe (i-umlaut of ēo, īo)</i>
		<i>io, eo ...</i>	<i>ie (i-umlaut of eo, io)</i>

Northumbrian.	West Saxon.	Northumbrian.	West Saxon.
<i>ea ...</i>	<i>eo before r+</i> <i>e</i>	<i>o ...</i>	<i>u in wu</i>
<i>ēa ..</i>	<i>ēo</i>	<i>ē ...</i>	<i>ē (i-umlaut of ō)</i>
<i>ī ...</i>	<i>īe before h</i>	<i>ē ...</i>	<i>æ after w</i>
<i>io ...</i>	<i>ie (i-umlaut of io)</i>	<i>æ ...</i>	<i>e (i-umlaut of o)</i>
		<i>æ ...</i>	<i>e after w</i>

Kentish.	West Saxon.	Kentish.	West Saxon.
e	ie <i>before a palatal</i> æ ea <i>after a palatal</i> y (<i>i-umlaut of u</i>) ie (<i>i-umlaut of ea</i>)	eo (<i>u-umlaut</i>) eo (<i>guttural umlaut</i>) eo io (<i>u-umlaut</i>)	e <i>before any single consonant except a labial or a liquid</i> e <i>before a guttural</i> u <i>in wu</i> i <i>before any single consonant except a labial or a liquid</i>
ē	ǣ ēa <i>after a palatal</i> īe (<i>i-umlaut of ēa</i>) ȳ (<i>i-umlaut of ū</i>)	io (<i>o-, a-umlaut</i>) io io	i ie (<i>i-umlaut of io</i>) eo <i>before r+</i>
ē (<i>late</i>) ...	ǣ (<i>i-umlaut of ā</i>)	īo, īa īo, īe	ēo īe (<i>i-umlaut of ēo</i>)

The pronunciation of the consonants in Old English presents three difficulties ; but before enumerating them we will consider those consonants which are less unlike our own : viz., *c*, *g*, *f*, and *h*.

The letter *c* when guttural was pronounced like *c* in modern English "could." When it was palatal it was often accompanied by *e* before a following vowel, and was probably pronounced like *k* in "keep," unduly prolonged.

The letter *g* before guttural vowels was pronounced like *g* in "good." Between vowels it was pronounced like *y* ; and when doubled it was pronounced like *gg* in "rugged." The digraph *cg* was pronounced like our *g*.

The letter *f* was like our *f* when initial, or final, or doubled. When it occurred before tenues, or between vowels, or before mediæ, it was like our *v* in "given." At an early date it was written *þ*.

The letter *h*, when initial, was pronounced like our *h*, except in the digraph *hw*, which was pronounced like “*wh*” in Lowland Scottish. In other positions, and when doubled, it was pronounced like *χ*, and was sometimes written *ch* in the oldest records.

There are, in addition to this, two noteworthy consonantal variations, and these serve to distinguish Southern English from Northern. They are the reverted sounds of *r* and *l*. These were, and, of course, still are formed by turning the under surface of the tip of the tongue to the hard palate when enunciating either liquid. This consonantal peculiarity is Jutish and Saxon. It is found in Kent, Sussex, Wessex, and some parts of Southern Mercia. In the greater part of Mercia and in Northumbria, *l* was and still is pronounced like the *l* of modern English and German. The liquid *r* was trilled in all positions, like *r* in German and Italian. But in the Anglian districts it was not reverted.

In the South of England the reverting of *r* and *l* caused (and still causes) a number of variations in the sound of preceding vowels, and these variations provide phonologists with criteria for distributing dialectal phenomena. The generic name of this variation is “breaking.” It exhibits itself before *l* and *r* followed by a consonant, and also before *h* standing alone, and before *h* supported by a consonant. The influence of these contacts causes a guttural glide, or drawl, between the vowel and the consonant, and this glide combines with the vowel to form a diphthong.

Umlaut, or vocalic infection, is the change caused in an accented vowel by a vowel of different pitch in a following syllable. It is of two kinds accordingly as the nature of the infecting vowel is palatal or guttural. Palatal umlaut is the infection of *ā, ō, ū*; *a, æ, o, u*; *ēa, ēo, īo*; *ea, eo, io*, caused by the vowel *ī*. Guttural umlaut is the infection of the sound of accented *a, e, i* caused by one of the guttural vowels *a, ǫ, or u*. Palatal umlaut was very regular in its operation in Old English. But guttural umlaut was capricious.

In the Kentish dialect guttural umlaut of *e* occurs before all single consonants. In the Anglian dialects of Mercia and Northumbria guttural umlaut took place before all consonants except gutturals. In

West Saxon neither *o*-, nor *a*-umlaut of *e* finds place ; while *u*-umlaut of *e* and *i*, and *o*- and *a*-umlaut of *i*, only occur before liquids and labials.

These are the true reasons, in part, why the spelling of Old-English words appeared to be so erratic when systematic investigation of the linguistic facts presented by written documents was first attempted. The language of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers was highly cultivated, and system and conventionality predominated in its orthography for several centuries.

The manuscripts of the *Chronicles* may, then, be grouped according to dialect as follows :—

Sign.	Home of MS.	Dialect.
A	Winchester	West-Saxon
B } C }	Abingdon }	Mercian
D	Evesham }	
E	Peterborough }	
F	Canterbury	Kentish

This scheme is not perfect and cannot be rendered so. For though we are quite right, for instance, in ascribing MS. E to the great Mercian Abbey of Peterborough, we should fall into error if we were to regard every verbal form that E presents as indubitably Mercian ; because E was in part a Canterbury book, in so far as its place of origin is concerned, and the Peterborough transcribers and compilers cannot be supposed to have reduced Kentish forms, in every case, to those which were correct in their own dialect.

§ 4. INDEX TO THE PLACE-NAMES.

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* The Arabic numerals indicate the chapters of § 5.

§ 5. THE PLACE-NAMES : ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON.

14. *Aylesbury*.

- "Ægelesbirg" ... 571, A. *Æglesburh*, B, C; *Æglesbyrig*, E. The West Saxons capture —.
- "Æglesbyrig" ... 921, A. The Danes ravage "betweox Byrnewudu ond —."

Ægel- (gen. *Ægeles*) is a form of the man's name "Ægili" which is found on the Frank's casket, now in the British Museum. This casket is ascribed to c. 800. The Old-English word *burg*, "city," is a monosyllabic consonant-stem of the feminine gender. It frequently appears with *h* (= *χ*) in place of final *g*. This is a common phenomenon in late Old English, especially after liquids and long vowels. The stem is declined thus :—

				<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom., Acc. ...	...	...	...	burg, burug. burh, buruh.	byrig, byrg.
Gen. ...	...	...	...	burge.	burga.
Dat. ...	...	...	...	byrig.	byrig, byrg.

The meaning of Aylesbury < *Ægelesbyrig* (dative) is "at the city of Ægili." Examples on coins are :—

Ethelred II.	...	...	...	ÆGLS
Cnut	...	...	...	ÆGL
Edward the Confessor	...	...	...	EGELE

Of these forms the first presents the West-Saxon *æ*. The second is the spelling adopted in some of the documents to which Florence of Worcester († 1118) had access. The third yields Mercian *ē* for West-Saxon *æ* according to rule.

15. *Bardney*.

- "on Bearðan ege" ... 641, E. King Oswald of Northumbria buried —.
- "on Bearddanigge" ... 716, A. King Ethelred, son of Penda, buried —.
- Bearðan ege*, E; *Beardan ege*, B; -igge, C, D.

"of Beardanige" ... 906/9, D, C. St. Oswald's body translated from — into Mercia (*on Myrce*).

"Barþanig" ... 1120, E. In the alleged charter to Peterborough, at annal 675.

Bardney is in Lincolnshire, on the River Witham, and in the parts of Lindsey. Bede tells us in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, xi, p. 148, "est monasterium nobile in prouincia Lindissi nomine Beardaneu" — "there is a noble monastery in the province of Lindiss by the name of Bearda's Island." With this compare "Peartaneu," the name of another monastery in Lindsey: *ibid.*, II, xvi, p. 117; III, xi, p. 149. Coins, the inscriptions upon which contain *s*, are to be assigned to Beardanstapul, *i.e.*, Barnstaple. Many are uncertain, and Mr. Lawrence expressly admits the possibility of a second mint; *Numismatic Chronicle*, III, vol. 17, p. 302. Lindsey was not originally a part of Mercia and the breaking of Germanic *a* which occurs in Bede and the *Peterborough Chronicle* at 641 and 716 is not even North Mercian in dialect. The Peterborough charter-form Barþanig really is Mercian, and the unbroken *a* is what we find on the coins

Ethelred II.	...	...	..	BARD
Cnut	...	...	...	BARD

15a. *eu*, *ēg*, *īg*, *insula*.

In Old Northumbrian *eu* means "island"; *cf.* "Heruteu, id est insula cerui," *Bede*, III, xxiv, p. 179; "Selæseu, id est insula uituli marini," *ibid.*, IV, xiii, p. 232. These occur in the Moore MS. which was written in A.D. 737. But *eu* was already obsolescent in Bede's day, and not only do other manuscripts of his work written in the same century abandon its use and yield "Heorutes ig" and "Selaes ei," but even in the Moore MS. we get "Cerotaes ei, id est Ceroti insula," IV, vi, p. 219. In MS. B, instead of *eu* in "Beardan eu" and "Peartan eu," we get *īg* and *ei*, respectively. Similarly for "Laestinga eu" we find *-īg* (III, xxiii, p. 176), and elsewhere we get *æi*, *ei*, and *e* (*ē* no doubt). The last-mentioned forms are corruptions of *eu*.

Pure forms of *eu* are confined to the Northumbrian dialect. But there must have been a form **eui* > **iui*, because forms with *-g* are

"æt Baðum"	...	906, A, D.	Alfred, reeve of —, dies this year. <i>æt Baþan, B; æt Baþum, C.</i>
"to Baþan"	...	1013, C, D, F.	King Swegen went —. <i>to Baðon, E.</i>
"Baðan"	...	973, A, B, C.	Edgar crowned at —. <i>on þære ealdan byrig Acemannes ceastre, A, B, C. æt Hata baþum, D, E. at Acemannes beri (þæt ys at Baðan), F.</i>

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The coins offer very few variations. We find **BAÐ** in both Alfred's time and Edward the Confessor's. Under Athelstan and Edgar *civitate* and *cifi* occur. In the reign of Edward the Confessor **BAÐEN**, **BAÐE**, make their appearance; and in 1123 E, and 1130 E, we find *Baðe* and *Bathe* respectively.

17. *Bedford.*

- "æt Biedcanforda" ... 571, B, C, E. The Britons were defeated by the West Saxons —.
Bedcan, **Æ**.
 "to Bedanforda" ... 919, **Æ**. Many of the chief men who belonged here submitted to King Edward, and he fortified the town.
Beda-, C, D; *Bede-*, B.
 "Bēdanforda" ... 971, B, C. Oskytel, Archbishop of York, buried here by his relative, Thurkytel, who was abbot here at the time.

The differences in the forms assumed by the stem *Bed* in "Bedford" have not been explained. The quantity of the vowel is marked long in MSS. B and C. These were written *c.* 1000 and *c.* 1050 respectively. MS. B was copied by one hand from a manuscript written, it is believed, before 978. It would appear, therefore, that *e* in *Bed* was long, originally, and that it still retained its proper quantity in the tenth century. That a long vowel should suffer correction or shortening is not unparalleled. *E.g.*, the Old-English *bīecnan*, *flāesc* and *rēad* are all spoken with short *e* nowadays, viz., "beckon," "flesh" and "red."

The two manuscripts mentioned last are Mercian, and *ē* in that dialect represents, *inter alia*, the sound which is indicated in West Saxon by the long diphthong *īe*. Compare the Mercian *ēg* and West-Saxon *īeg*, *supra* 15a; Mercian *Bedca* (*ē*) and West-Saxon *Biedca* (*īe*), in annal 571; and Mercian *nēd* and West-Saxon *nīed*. But West-Saxon *īe* has two origins: (1) it is i-umlaut of *ēa* which represents Germanic *au*; (2) it is i-umlaut of *ēo* < *iu* < *eu*. Analysis shows us that West-Saxon *Bīedca* and Mercian *Bēdca* postulate Old-English *Bēadica* and Old-Germanic **Baudica*. The latter supplies in its uncompounded form

the secondary theme in such fourth-century personal names as Baino-baud-es, Mæro-baud-es and Fullo-faud-es.

The West-Saxon *Bied-* occurs in the *Chronicles* at annal 501, where “Bīeda” is called the son of Port; and at annal 734, where the death of the Northumbrian scholar Bæda is recorded. The early Northumbrian *ǣ*, *ǣ* is the predecessor of Anglian *ē*.

The late West-Saxon form *Bȳda-* (= *Bīeda* < *Bēadi*) occurs in an eleventh-century tract about the burial-places of the English saints, wherein “Bydanford” is named as the resting-place of St. Ethelbert.

The Mercian and Kentish *Bēdca* is found in the pedigree of the kings of Essex; *v.* Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, 610, p. 179, l. 15. The Mercian form *Bēda* occurs in the pedigree of the princes of the Lindiswaras; *v.* Sweet, *u.s.*, 599, p. 170, l. 108; and *Chronicles*, B, C, D, E, annal 734.

On the coins we get BEDA from Edwy to Ethelred II.

In Canute's time BEDE appears, and that form becomes constant in Edward the Confessor's reign.

18. *Bedwin*.

“æt Biedanheafde” ... 675, A, C. Wulfhere, son of Penda, and Æscwine fight

—.
Bedanheafde, E.

The name Bedwin is said to represent the ancient name of *Biedanheafod*, and there need be no doubt but that the *e* in *Bed* was long originally; *cf.* 17, Bedford. But not only is *-win* distinct from *-heafod*, but Bedwin is found in the eleventh century.

Edward the Confessor... ... BEDEPIN
BEDEPINNE

19. *Berkeley*.

“Beorclea” 1088, E. Ravaged —.

“on Beorclea” 1121, E. King Henry spent Easter here. There was a nunnery at Berkeley as early as 805, when the death of “Ceolburg abbudesse” is recorded.

eo in Beorclea is the breaking of *e* before *rc* in West Saxon and South Mercian. West-Saxon *beorc* = birch (tree). It is a feminine noun of the o-declension.

It is declined thus :—

			<i>Singular.</i>				<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	...	...	beorc	Nom., Acc....			beorce, beorca.
Acc., Gen., Dat....			beorce	Gen.	...		beorca, beorcena, beorcna
				Dat.	...		beorcum.

-lea a late form of *leag*.

Edward the Confessor BEORC

20. *Bridgenorth.*

"æt Cwætbrycge" ...	896, A.	The Danes fortify themselves here.
		<i>æt Brycge, D.</i>
"æt Bricge" ...	912, B.	Ethelfleda fortified the town.
"Brigg" ...	1102.	The town captured by King Henry.
"to Brigge" ...	1126.	Waleran of Meulan imprisoned here.

Brycg, "bridge," is a feminine *jō*-stem and is declined thus :—

			<i>Singular.</i>				<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	...	...	brycg.	Nom., Acc.	...		brycge, brycga.
Acc., Gen., Dat....			brycge.	Gen.	...		brycga.
				Dat.	...		brycgum.

In the old orthography of this word *c* was set before *g* in order to show that *g* was an explosive (our *g*), and not a spirant (our *y*). By the twelfth century the Old-English *g* had either become an explosive in all positions or had been assimilated to the palatal (our *j*).

The meaning of "Cwæt" is obscure to me. But there are still both Quat and Quatford near Bridgenorth.

21. *Bristol.*

"to Brycgstowe" ...	1052, D.	Earl Harold and Leofwine went —.
"of Brycgstowe" ...	1063, D.	Earl Harold sailed from here when he invaded Wales.
"to Brycgstowe" ...	1067, D.	One of Harold's sons raided here.
"to Bricstowe" ...	1126, E.	Prince Robert of Normandy was taken prisoner hither.
"on Bristowe" ...	1140, E.	King Stephen was imprisoned here.

The *l* in "Bristol" is parasitic and the meaning o. Brycg-stow is simply the Bridge Stow, or "place near the bridge." *Stow* is a feminine *wō*-stem. It is declined thus :—

			<i>Singular.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>		
Nom.	...	...	stow.	Nom., Acc.	...	stowe, stowa.		
Acc., Gen., Dat.	...		stowe.	Gen.	...	stowa.		
				Dat.	...	stowum.		

On the coins *γ* (*sc.* *v*) does not appear till the time of Edward the Confessor. BRIG, BRVSTO, and BRVSTO occur under Canute and Edward.

22. *Buckingham.*

- "to Buccingahamme" ... 918, A. King Edward marches hither with his army.
 "Bucinghamscire" ... 1010, E. The Danes reach —.
 "Bucinghamscire" ... 1011, E. The Danes ravage —.
 "þurh Buccingahamscire" ... 1016, E. Canute marches —.

This name signifies the *hamm* or "enclosure" (*cf.* the phrase "hemming in") of the Buccingas, or sons of Bucca. In 882 there was a West-Saxon alderman, "dux," of this name. It is quite possible that we get the word in the fourth-century name of the Bucinobantes, the folk of the *bant*, or *gau*, of Bucino, in Alemania.

In Ethelred II.'s reign we get the inscription—

BVCIG

For *hamm*, see Part I, p. 29, vol. viii. The meaning of *scîr* is "office," "jurisdiction"; hence, by extension, it was applied to the district in which the particular jurisdiction was exercised.

23. *Bury St. Edmunds.*

- "in Beadoricesuuyrthe" ... The body of St. Edmund the King was buried here, according to Ethelwerd, p. 513. But, just as *Medeshamsted* gave place to *Burh* and Peterborough, so, too, has *Bedricsworth given place to *Sancle Eadmundesburh* and Bury St. Edmunds.

Edward the Confessor ... EADMVN

24. *Calne.*

"æt Cālne" ... 978, E. The Witenagemōt assembled here —, *i.e.*, at the place called *Cāln. This is identified with Calne in Wiltshire. But we are dealing with *ā*, and the normal representative of Old-English *ā* in Modern English is *ō*; *e.g.*, *bān*, *stān*, *hāl*: bone, stone, whole.

25. *Cambridge.*

"æt Grantanbrycge" ... 875, B, C. The Danes wintered here.
 "to Grantanbrycge" ... 921, A. The Danes who belonged here submitted to King Edward.
 "Grantabrycge" ... 1010, E. — burnt by the Danes.

The name of Cambridge was fully elucidated by the late Dr. Skeat in "A Student's Pastime," *vide The Place-names of Cambridgeshire*, § 8, pp. 29–31. It is to his researches that I am indebted for most of the following facts.

The word Cām-bridge does not mean the "bridge over the Cam." There was no such river-name till some time after the modern word was well established, say *c.* 1500. It was in the sixteenth century that antiquaries coined the name of *Cāmus*. The true name of the river on which Cambridge stands is Grant, earlier *Grante*, *Granta*. It used to be asserted that the river is more crooked at Cambridge than it is elsewhere and that Cam is "Celtic" for "crooked." The etymon of the true name of the river is undoubtedly Celtic, and there was a Gaulish river Gerontōna. An equivalent form *Gerantona may well represent the British name which was reduced by the Mercians to Grante. Simeon of Durham (*†c.* 1130) wrote "Grente," with which compare Trent < Treante < *Trihantona < Trisantona.

The town-name Cāmbrugge made its first appearance soon after A.D. 1400. It eventually displaced the form Caunbrigge (1436), which represented Cantebrug (1218) < Cauntebrigge; *cf.* Cantebrigescir (1200). The earliest appearance of the shire-name with initial *C* is in a document dated 1142 (*v. Notes and Queries*, 8 S., viii, 314). For

about 250 years forms in both *Cante-* and *Grante-* occur in different contemporary documents. *Grante-* disappears from the name of the town *c.* 1400. But the true Old-English name of the river, *sc.* Grante, has never been forgotten and the name of the town always began with *Gr.* until 1140.

After 1400 the form Cauntbrigge excluded the older form and began to experience vicissitudes which can be paralleled in other words not easy to pronounce. First the *t* fell out, *c.* 1436. This left Caunbrigge. Then the contact *-nb-*, which is disagreeable to English ears, became *-mb-*, which yielded Caumbrege, 1458. Finally the open *-au-* yielded to the more polite, close *æ*, and resulted in 1462 in the word Cambrege.

On the coins we find :—

Ethelred	...	...	...	GRANT
Canute	...	...	...	GRANTE

It is assumed that these were not struck at Grantchester.

26. *Canterbury.*

"Cantwaraburg"	...	754, A.	(-eburh, B, -aburh, C, D); burnt.
"Contwaraburg"	...	851, A.	Taken by the Danes.
"Cantwareburuh"	...	1011, B, F.	Besieged by the Danes.
"on Cantwarabyrig"	...	1087, E.	The minster completed.

For the older name of Canterbury, namely, *Durouernum*, reference may be made to the article on *Doruuernis*, Part 1, vol. viii, p. 35. Latin forms of the old name of Canterbury in later times than those of Bede are more accurate than his, and we get Dorobernia, Dorobernia Ciuitas, and Dorovernia.

The meaning of Cant-wara-burg is "the City of the Cantwaru." The word *waru* is a feminine noun of the *ō*-declension. It means "people" and is declined thus :—

<i>Singular.</i>				<i>Plural.</i>		
Nom.	...	...	waru	Nom., Acc.	...	ware.
Acc., Gen., Dat.	...	...	ware	Gen.	...	wara, warana.
				Dat.	...	warum.

On the coins there is great variety of spelling. The name of Ceolwulf, King of Mercia (819–821), appears as *Cioluulf*, and a little later we find *Cialnoð*. These variations are dialectal, the West-Saxon and Mercian *eo* being represented by Kentish *io*, *ia*. Under the different kings we get the following salient peculiarities:—

Edgar	...	...	...	C/ETPARA
Edward the Martyr		...	...	E/ENT
Ethelred II.	...	...	...	C/ENTPARA
Cnut	...	...	...	CENTPA
Edward the Confessor		...	...	CANT C/ENT CENT

Lugubalia, one of the Latin names of Carlisle, was elucidated in Part I of this essay (vol. viii, p. 40). The later forms—*sz.* Luel, Cardoil, Cardeol, were also referred to. It is remarkable that no coins issued at Carlisle of an earlier date than 1128 have been discovered as yet. We may expect that coins of the City of Luel will come to light some day, however, and that it will be correct to date them after 945, when the Britons of Strathclyde were subjugated by King Edmund and set under the rule of Malcolm, King of the Scots.

“to Legaceastre” ... 605, E. Ethelfrid led his army —.
607, a. “to *Leger cyestre*” is a mistake. This form
actually means Leicester (v. No. 45, II,
chap. ii).

- "Legaceaster" ... 894, A. (*Leg-*, B; *Liege*, C; *Lige-*, D). The Danes arrive "on anre westre ceastre on Wirhealum, seo is Legeceaster," "at a waste city in Wirrall, which is called Chester."
- "Ligcester" ... 907, B, C. The city was restored.
- "to Lægeceastre" ... 972, E. (*Lei-*, D.) King Edgar's fleet was moved hither.
- "to Legeceastre" ... 1016, E. Edmund Ironside goes —.
- "of Cæstre" ... 1140, E. Randolph, Earl —, held Lincoln against King Stephen.

Bede's form, namely, "*Lega caestir*," has been explained as the equivalent of *Urbs Legionum*, v. Part 1, vol. viii, pp. 28, 39. The Latin word *legio* had short *e*, but when the explosive *g* of *Lega* fell out and was replaced by the spirant *y*, the *e* was lengthened. The wavering in pronunciation became noticeable before King Athelstan's day, and ultimately resulted in the spelling *leige* on the coins, and *liege*, *lige*, in written documents. On the coins we get the following:—

Athelstan	...	...	LEGE LEIGE EIE (CE, CIEI, CIF, appear for <i>Civitas</i> .)
Ethelred II.	...	...	LEGE LEIGE LEGCES
Cnut	...	...	LEG LEICES
Harold I.	...	...	LEGIEE LEIÐG
Edward the Confessor			LEGECESR LEICEST
Harold II.	...	...	LLEGEC

The similarity between *Leigecester* and *Legraceaster* occasions confusion, but the problem may be resolved by the presence or absence of letter *r*.

29. Chichester.

- "neah Cisseceastre" ... 895, A. (*cisceastre*, D.) The Danes harried "up on Suð seaxum —."
- "Cicestre" ... 1114, H. The city and the minster were burnt.

The medial *e* of *Cisseceastre* is really the last expiring breath of a syllable which was once the possessive case-ending *-an*. *Cissan-ceaster means "the City of Cissa," a son of Ælli, the first Bretwalda and leader of those Saxons who were afterwards called South Saxons; cf. Gleawe-, Winte-, Effe-, Dorce-, etc., wherein, in each instance, *e* = earlier *an*.

On the coins the *s* in the prototheme maintains itself until the reign of Canute. Under Harold I., Edward the Confessor, and Harold II., the form with **CE** is constant.

30. *Colchester.*

"to Colneceastre" ... 921, **A**. King Edward marched hither with the West-Saxon forces.

Colneceaster = *Colonia Castræ*, the Colony City. *Cf.* Part 1, vol. viii, p. 26. "*Castræ*" is a Low-Latin plural of *castra* treated as if that were a feminine singular in the nominative case.

On the coins the letter **N** drops out, apparently after 1016. We get :—

Ethelred II. ...	...	...	COLEN
Canute ...	...	...	COLEC
Harold I. ...	...	...	CONC
Edward the Confessor	...		COLA COLE COLI

31. *Cricklade.*

"to Creccagelade" ... 905, **A**. (*Cracgelâde*, **B**; *Creacc-*, **C**; *Creoccgelade*, **D**.)
The Danes harried Mercia and crossed the Thames here.

"æt Cregelade" ... 1016, **C**. (*Cricgelade*, **D**; *Cræcilade*, **E**; *Creccalade*, **F**.)
Canute crossed the Thames "into Myrcum" (**E**) here.

The forms of the name of Cricklade are numerous and irregular, more so, indeed, than those of any other place-name we have had to deal with. The dialects are well represented. Earlier Anglian and Mercian *æ* eventually became *ē*, and these sounds were represented in West Saxon by *ēa* before *c*, *g*, *h*, as *æc*, later *ēc*, West-Saxon *ēac*; *cf.* Wright, *Old-English Grammar*, § 187, p. 81. This gives us three guides for grouping the forms—

Mercian	{ <i>æc</i>	...	<i>Cræc-</i> , 1016, E ; hence	...	<i>Cræc-ilād-</i> .
	<i>ēc</i>	...	<i>Crēc-</i> , 1100, F ; hence	...	<i>Crēca-lād-</i> .
West-Saxon	<i>ēac</i>	...	<i>Crēac-</i> , 905, C ; <i>Cr[ē]ac-</i> , 905, B ; hence	...	<i>Crēac-gelād-</i> .

This allotment of dialect-forms leaves 905, *Creoccgelaa*, D, and 1016, *Cricgelad*, D, undistributed and unexplained.

On the coins we find—

Edward the Confessor...	...	CREC
		CRECELA
		CRECEELAD

The last represents Crēcgelād and may be regarded as the home-form, which is Mercian. The forms in *o* are—

Canute ...	...	...	...	...	CROG
					CROC
					CROCI
					CROCCIL
Edward the Confessor...	...	...	...	...	CROC

I cannot explain these. The diphthong or breaking *eo* (D, 905) might represent an earlier *ī* in Cric-, but the sequence is the reverse (1016, D). The *o*-forms on the coins have nothing at all to do with the breaking *eo* in the manuscripts.

The alternative equation “Crecgelade or Crocgelade [Cricklade]” in the *British Museum Catalogue* (Anglo-Saxon Series), pp. 259, 351, still needs to be explained dialectally.

32. *Derby*.

“Deorabȳ”...	...	917, B, C.	The Lady Ethelfleda took —.
		942, B, C.	One of the Five Danish Burghs.
“Deorby” ...	...	1041, D.	An earthquake at —.

“Deorabȳ” should mean the “bȳ” of the Deoras or Deras, *i.e.*, the descendants of a man named Der and their allies. But it may be intermediate between *Deoranby* and *Deorby*, in which case it means the “bȳ” of Der or Deora. *eo* is a Mercian digraph which answers to West-Saxon *e* by *o/a*-umlaut; *cf.* Mercian *beoran*, *eotan*, *feola*, with West-Saxon *beran*, *etan*, *fela*. The word *bȳ* presents *i*-umlaut of earlier *ū*. That postulates *būi*. Hence *būi*, the Scandinavian word

for a "dwelling-place," is indicated; *cf.* Old-English *būgend*: *būend*, an "inhabitant," from *bugean*, "to dwell."

On the coins we get—

Athelstan	...	...	...	REORΛBVI
Edgar	...	...	...	DEORBY
Edward the Confessor...	...	...	...	DEORBE
				DEORBI

The spelling **DEORBE** (*Deorbē*) shows Kentish influences. In that dialect *ē* represents Mercian and West Saxon *ȳ*.

33. *Dereham.*

"Deorham" ... 798, F. St. Wihtburga's body found to be uncorrupted at —.

This manor was given to Ely by Edward the Confessor; Kemble, 907.

On coins attributed to this mint in the time of Edward the Confessor we get **DYR**. We must write this *Dȳr*. *ȳ* is the i-umlaut of *eo*, and in West Saxon represents an earlier *īē*. Hence **DYR** < *Dȳr* < *Dier* < *Dēori*. The spelling in the Canterbury MS. F is late. The West-Saxon and Mercian *eo* have yielded the modern long *e*; *cf.* *dēor*, "deer"; *bēor*, "beer"; *stēor*, "rudder" (steersman).

34. *Dover.*

"æt Doferan" ... 1052, D; 1050, F. (*Dofran*, E, 1048.) Count Eustace of Boulogne lands here.

"Dofras" ... 1050, F. King Edward ordered Earl Godwin to waste this district.

The earliest form of Dover is "*Dubris*," a Latin dative plural; *cf.* Part I, Appendix, vol. viii, p. 48. This points to *Dubræ* as the etymon, and the plural was preserved in the Canterbury MS. F of c. 1120, and still appears in the French *Douvres*. It is said that *Dubræ* meant "The Waters," from Celtic *Dubr-*, "water." One of the affluents of the Main was named "Dubra," in Celtic times, and "Dubro" appears in both the first and the second place in Celtic town-names. So, perhaps, the agreement with *Dubr-*, "water," may be apparent only.

On the coins there is very slight variation—

Ethelred II. ...	...	...	DOFER	DOFRA
Canute... ..	...	...	DOFER	DOFERAN
Edward the Confessor	...	...	DOFER	DOFRAN DOFEREN

35. *Dunwich.*

This name was considered in Part I, vol. viii, p. 34.

36. *Durham.*

"æt Dunholm"	...	1056, D.	Ægelric resigned the bishopric —.
"æt Dûnholme"	...	1068, D, E.	Robert de Commines slain —.
		1072, D, E.	Ægelric dies —.
"æt Dunholme"	...	1075, D.	The sheriff of York meets Edgar Atheling —.

The change from "Dunholm" to Durham is due to Norman-French influences; *cf. ordinem > ordre; diaconum > diacre; cophinum > coffre.*

37. *Exeter.*

"into Escanceastre"	...	876, A.	(<i>Exan-</i> , B, C, D, E.) The Danes ride —. (<i>Eaxan-</i> , 878, 894, C.)
"Exacester"	...	1003, C.	(<i>Eaxan-</i> , D; <i>Eaxe-</i> , E; <i>Execiester</i> , F.) The Danes take —.
"Exancester"	...	1067, D.	— besieged by King William.
"Execestre"	...	1135, E.	Baldwin de Redvers held the city against King Stephen.

Escanceaster = City of Esca, which is the river-name personified. According to Asser the Welsh name of Exeter was Cair Uisc. But there cannot be any phonetic connection between *uisc* and *ĕsc*. Welsh *uisc* has *ui*, and this is i-umlaut of *oe*, which might represent older *ē*. Hence *uisc* < **oesci* < **ēsci*. The Latin form in the *Itineraries* rejects this, inasmuch as it is *Isca Dumnonniorum*, and the town was so called in order to distinguish it from *Isca Silurum*. *I* in *Isca* became *e* in Old English in agreement with tendency; *cf. pīrum > pēr > "pear"; signum > segn = "sign"; pensāre > pinsian = "to consider."* The river-name "Exe," then, represents Latin *Isca*, through the Old-

English metathesis *Exa*; cf. *axe: asce*, “ashes”; *fixas: fiscas*, “fishes”; *āxian: āscian*, “ask.” Willibald, in his *Life of Winfrid-Boniface* (†754), says that Winfrid was educated at “Adescancastre,” i.e., at the town called *At Escancaster*; cf. “Ad Baruae” and “Ad Gefrin,” Bede, “H.E.,” IV, iii; IV, vi; and II, xiv. The late form *Eaxan-* is due to unconscious assimilation of the resultant of *Esc* to such words as *eax*, *feax*, and *seax*.

On the coins we get a good deal of unimportant variation—

Alfred	...	...	...	...	EXΛ
Athelstan	...	...	...	...	EXE
Edgar	...	...	...	...	EAXNC
Ethelred II.	...	...	...	...	EAXCESTR
Canute	...	...	...	...	EAXA EAXC
Harold I.	...	...	...	...	ECXC
Harthacnut...	...	...	...	...	CAX
Edward the Confessor	...	...	...	...	ELXECESTER

38. *Gloucester.*

“Gleawanceaster”	...	577, A.	(<i>Gleaw-</i> , B, C, E; <i>Glawe-</i> , F.) The West Saxons capture Gloucester from the Britons.
“of Gleaweceastre”	...	915/918, A, D.	(<i>Gleaw-</i> , B; <i>Glewe-</i> , C.) The townsmen of Gloucester defeat the Danes.
“binnan Gleawcestre”	...	918, D.	Ethelfleda buried —.
“on Gleaweceastre”	...	940, D.	Athelstan buried —.
“of Gleawcestre”	...	1040, D.	King Edward rode from Gloucester to Winchester.
“on Gleaweceastre”	...	1048, E.	The Witan summoned to meet —.
“to Gleawcestre”	...	1052, D.	Count Eustace came to King Edward —.

Gloucester is a city of high antiquity and notable importance throughout Anglo-Saxon times. It was a Roman colony and appears in the *Itinerary* of Antonine as “Gleuum Colonia.” The *e* in *Glēu-* is long, and in early loan-words from Latin the Welsh made *ē* into *oe*, *oi*, or *wy*. *Glēu-*, therefore, became *Gloiu*, and appears as “Cair Gloiu” in Old Welsh. The modern word *gloyw* means “bright.” In Middle Welsh *Cair Gloiu* became “Caer Loyw.” “Cloecistra” may be due to Welsh influences.

In West Saxon we get a similar metaphony—a confusion of the sound of the Old-Welsh word *Gloiu*, “bright,” with the sense of the West-Saxon word *glēaw*, “wise.” This was treated as a man’s name, *sc. Glēawa*, and appears in the genitive case as “Glēawan.” Neither *Gloiu* nor *Glēawa* has anything to do with the root of *Glēv-um*, and the meaning of the Latin name was quite as obscure to the Welshman as it was to the Gewissa or West Saxon.

West-Saxon words in *-ēaw* are *dēaw*, “dew”; *fēawe*, “few”; *pēaw*, “thew,” “custom.” Hence we should expect the modern dialectal form of *Glēawanceaster* to be *Glewcester*. This actually occurs at 1053 D, where we are told that the head of the Welsh prince Hrls was brought “to Glewcestre.” MS. D was written *c.* 1100. MS. E was written about 1125 and at annal 1126 we read of “Rotbert,” Earl of “Gleucaestre.” In the Latin *Acts of Lanfranc* (*c.* 1100) we find “Cloecistra,” “Claudia Civitas,” and “Cleucestra” (ed. Plummer, *Two Chronicles*, i, pp. 289, 290). There is no connection between *Claud-* and *Glēaw-*, and the form *Glew-* may well have been obsolescent at the time.

In 1119 E the form *Glowe-* occurs. This ultimately prevailed, and “Gloucester” makes its first appearance in 1140 E, where the taking prisoner of “Rodbert,” Earl of “Gloucestre” is recorded.

The name of this town upon its mintage is very uniform.

Alfred ...	...	...	...	...	GLEAƿA
Ethelred II.	...	...	...	...	GLEA
Canute ...	...	...	...	...	GLEPE
Harthacnut	...	...	...	...	GLEPE
Edward the Confessor...	...	...	...	...	GLEPECE
Harold ...	...	...	...	...	GLEPEC

39. Hastings.

“Hæstingas” ...	...	1011,	The Danes overran “ealle Kentingas ond
		C, D, E.	Suðseaxe ond Hæstingas ond Suðrige.”
“of Hæstingum”	...	1052, D.	All the butsecarls of the Hæstingas go
			over to Earl Godwin.
“of Hæstingaceastre”	...	1050, D.	The men of the City of the Hæstingas
			capture two of Earl Swegen’s ships.

"æt Hæstingaport" ... 1066, D. "Ða com Wyllelm eorl of Normandige into Pefnesea on Sce Michaelæs mæsse æfen ond sona þæs hi fêre wæron worhton castel æt Hæstinga port."

These extracts give us four cases of the noun, namely, nominative and accusative, Hæstingas; genitive, Hæstinga; dative, Hæstingum. The Hæstingas were the descendants of some early prince whose name was compounded of *Æst*-, or *Hæst*-, and a deuterotherme; *cf.* Aistulf = *Æstwulf*, the name of the father of the last king of the Jutes of Wight; *v. Chronica* of John of Wallingford, *sub* Edward. The forms of the personal name without initial *h* are much more numerous than those with that letter.

The coins are inscribed as follows:—

Canute	...	...	...	HÆSTINC
Edward the Confessor	...	...	...	HÆSTING HESTINPOR
				ÆSTIN
Harold II.	...	...	...	ÆST

40. *Hereford.*

"of Hereforda" ... 915 (918), The men of Hereford defeat the Danes. B, C.
 "into Herefordporte" ... 1055, C. Earl Rawulf gathers many men —.
 "on Hereforda" ... 1056, D. Bishop Athelstan buried —.

"Hereford" means "army-ford," word for word, but we are on the Welsh border and extra caution is requisite. The meaning assigned may not be any more correct than that of *Gleawanceaster*, "the Wise One's City." On the coins we get—

Athelstan	...	...	...	HEREF
Ethelred II.	...	...	...	HERE
Canute...	...	...	...	HEREF
Harthacnut	...	...	...	HEREFO
Edward the Confessor	...	...	...	HEREFODE H-EREFOR

41. *Hertford.*

"æt Heorotforda" ... 673, A. (*Heortforda*, B, C; *Heortforde*, E; *Heortfordan*, F.) An ecclesiastical council held —.
 913, A. King Edward builds forts —.

This word has been examined already : Part I, vol. viii, pp. 28, 29, 37. The form *heorot* represents an earlier *heorut* and that preserves u-umlaut of *e* which took place in West Saxon before single labials and liquids, and in Mercian before all single consonants except gutturals.

On the coins we get—

Edward the Martyr	...	...	...	IIERT
Ethelred II.	...	...	...	HEORT
Canute	...	...	...	HEORT
Edward the Confessor	...	...	...	HERTFO
				HEORT
				HIRT

42. *Huntingdon.*

"of Huntandune" ... 921, A The Danes departed from —.
 "healfe Huntadunscire" 1011, C, E. (*Hunte*-, D; *Hunta*-, F.) The Danes ravaged —.

It is customary to regard *-ing* in the modern name as a corruption of *-an*. But *Hunta* was a man's name, and so, too, was *Hunting*; cf. c. 765, a witness (in Searle), and Ellis's *Domesday*, List B. *Hunting* (*ibid.*) was a landowner in 1060 in Northampton. It is quite possible that both *Huntandun* and **Huntingadun* are correct.

The forms on the coins are as follows :—

Edgar	...	...	...	HVNT
Ethelred II.	...	...	...	HVNTAN HVNT NVNT
Canute	...	...	...	H-VNT VNTDNE
Edward the Confessor	...	...	...	HVNTEN HVNTE
Harold II.	...	...	...	HVNIED

43. *Hythe.*

"on Hyþe" ... 1052, E. Harold seizes ships —.
 "to Hiðe" ... 1051/2, F. Harold goes —.

The word *hyð* means a landing-place. It only occurs in the *Chronicles* as a place-name, or as part of a place-name. In London names it was and is spelt *hithe*, as in *Queenhithe* and *Rotherhithe*. The form in MS. F (which manuscript is presumably Kentish) is not

true to dialect because West Saxon $\bar{y}$ postulates Kentish $\bar{e}$, and we get that on one coin of Edward the Confessor. $\bar{y}$ became $\bar{e}$ in Kentish in the ninth century, and Kentish *hēf*, *mēs*, *ontēnan* represent West-Saxon *hȳf*, *mȳs*, *ontȳnan* (i.e., "hive," "mice," "to open"). The same sound-change must have taken place in Sussex and in East Anglia as well. In Sussex we say *meece* instead of "mice," Old-English *mȳs*; and in East Anglia *Dȳrham* has become Dereham.

On the coins we get—

Canute	...	...	...	...	HYÐA
Edward the Confessor	...	...	...	...	HYÐE HEÐE

44. *Ipswich.*

"Gypeswic"	...	...	991, C, D.	The Danes ravage here.
			993, A.	<i>Gipeswic.</i>
"ûp âet Gypeswic"	...	...	1010, C, D.	(<i>Gipeswic</i> , E; <i>Gepeswic</i> , F.) The Danes went up to Ipswich.

The modern name has short *i*. This may be the correption of Old-English $\bar{i}$; but the absence of length-mark in the annal 1010 forbids us to think so. The old name occurs in the *Chronicles* under various aspects. We get as stem-vowel either *i*, *y*, or *e*. In the annals the labial is never doubled. It is uncertain, therefore, whether we should read Gȳp-, Gīp-, or Gēp-. But on the coins gemination of the labial does occur occasionally, though not till after 1040. Thus—

Edward the Martyr	...	...	...	...	GIPE
Ethelred II.	...	...	...	...	GIP
					GYPES
Canute	...	...	...	...	GIPESPI
Harold I.	...	...	...	...	GIP
Edward the Confessor...	...	...	...	...	GIPESPIIC
					GIPPES
					GIPPE
Harold II.	...	...	...	...	GIPE
					GIPPES

This analysis indicates a Germanic name *Gūpi-, West-Saxon Gȳp- (later Gīp-), and Kentish Gēp-.

THE DUNWICH MINT.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

THERE is, perhaps, no more interesting but, at the same time, little known phase of English topographical history than that relating to the towns and villages overwhelmed by the encroachments of the sea. Unlike the effects of earthquake or fire, these disasters are, generally speaking, of so gradual a nature that centuries may elapse before destruction is complete, and in the meantime the effects of the sea's operations are unnoticed, except by the local people chiefly interested or, perhaps, by a more than usually observant diarist.

One of the chief of the ancient submerged cities was Dunwich, formerly situated about four miles south of Southwold on the Suffolk coast. It is a somewhat difficult matter to construct the history of a city which has disappeared, for so much of that which is legend, or at least exaggeration, tends to grow round the memory of such places. Dunwich may, it is thought, be considered to be no exception to this rule, and some of the statements of its historian, Gardner, cannot in all respects be regarded as absolutely founded on fact. It is not, however, the purpose of this paper to substantiate or correct the records of previous writers, except so far as they relate to the coinage. Some reference to the history of this city as a whole will, however, give completeness to the subject, and that must be the writer's excuse for supplementing and, in a few respects, repeating the details given in an article by Mr. E. R. H. Hancox entitled "Finds of mediæval cut halfpence and farthings at Dunwich," published in this *Journal* in 1908.

In Roman times Dunwich was supposed by some writers to have been the terminus of one of the six great Roman roads which had

their junction at *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor), but of authentic historical references to it the earliest appears to be in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, where it is stated that a Burgundian named Felix, whose name is preserved in that of the present town of Felixstowe, fixed his see at Dunwich on his consecration by Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, as first bishop of the 'Angles, A.D. 630.

Stubbs, in his *Constitutional History*, says that the sees of the early bishops were, in many cases, planted in villages or country monasteries, which served as a nucleus for the later cities in accordance with a recognized plan of avoiding existing towns. He adds that in the case of the East Anglian see a village was chosen, or created, for the purpose. The statements that Dunwich was a flourishing town before the see was fixed there will not, therefore, bear critical investigation.

In A.D. 669 a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, was despatched from Rome as Archbishop of Canterbury to reorganize the Anglo-Saxon Church, and amongst other changes effected by him was the division of the Saxon bishoprics. Hitherto they had practically coincided with the so-called heptarchic kingdoms, that of East Anglia being, as we have seen, at Dunwich. This was, however, in A.D. 673 or 674, divided into two, one for the north-folk located at Elmham, and the other for the south-folk retained at Dunwich. Matthew of Westminster circumstantially cites the infirmity of the then bishop of Dunwich as the reason for this division of the see, but there is little doubt that it was part of the organized plan of Archbishop Theodore. During the Viking conquest of the north and east of England in the ninth century, the see of Dunwich disappeared altogether, being overwhelmed, not by the ocean, but by a flood of paganism and barbarism. In A.D. 955 the bishopric of East Anglia was revived, but Dunwich was not chosen as the seat of the bishop, Elmham having that exclusive honour.

Advancing to Norman times, the reference to Dunwich in the Domesday Survey is the next most valuable and unimpeachable evidence of the size and importance of the town. In addition, it indicates that Dunwich was a borough and, in the light of the coinage law enacted at Greatley (about A.D. 928), as interpreted by Mr. Carlyon-Britton,¹

¹ *Numismatic Journal*, 1906, p. 170.

this is more important to the present subject because it shows that Dunwich could, at least in later Saxon times, have coined money if circumstances had required it. *Domesday Book* says, *inter alia*—

“Edric de Lesefelde held Dunewic in the time of King Edward for one manor, and now Robert Malet holds it. Then there were two plough lands, now one, the sea hath washed away the other, then twelve Bordars, now two, and 24 freemen, each [with] 40 acres, who pay custom to this manor, and then 120 Burgesses, and now 236.”

This reference is also important as indicating that the encroachment of the sea had begun, at least, as early as in the age of Edward the Confessor, but notwithstanding this, the evidence of charters and other contemporary records show, beyond doubt, that Dunwich was not, for a considerable period after that time, seriously affected by the aggression of the ocean. Indeed a charter of liberties was granted to the town, in the first year of King John, A.D. 1199, for which the burgesses paid 300 marks, besides ten falcons and five girfalcons.

By the time of Edward II., however, the fight against the ocean had almost overcome the burgesses, for, in A.D. 1325, they “prayed to have the town taken into the king’s hand and a guardian appointed.”¹ Such a request on the part of a mediæval town shows that a state of practical bankruptcy had been reached, and it was a sure indication of the depths to which the inhabitants had fallen. In the reign of Edward III. one of the greatest calamities, which had a lasting effect on the town, occurred, a large section of it being then carried away by the sea. The later history of Dunwich shows that it never completely recovered from this disaster; and the subsequent recurrences, of more or less magnitude in every succeeding reign, still further rendered its position increasingly precarious until, by the time of Elizabeth, with natural calamities and trade rivalries, it had sunk for ever from the important position it had formerly held on the East Anglian coast. Its later history may be generally said to be that of gradual absorption by the ocean, until by the middle of the eighteenth century the town had, practically speaking, disappeared. One of the last remnants of the old

¹ *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, by Mrs. J. R. Green.

place is a dilapidated church perched on the very verge of the cliff, and not many years can elapse before even this memorial disappears, as the winter tides are still taking their toll of the coast.

From these introductory remarks we will now pass to the main theme of this paper, which is to consider the evidence for the working of a mint in old-time Dunwich. Tradition is strong that coins were struck there, and even so early as in 1589 it is so stated. In a report of one, Ralph Agas, to Queen Elizabeth in that year is the following extract :—

“ Touchinge the State of the Toune in times past, it appeareth as well by their charter, as otherwise, that it hath been one of the ancient Tounes in this Yland ; that there hath been a Bishoppes Sea, also a Minte, and a Market everie Daie in the Week.”

Ruding, in his account of the various mints of Britain epitomises the references to the Dunwich mint as follows :—

“ Leland, in his *Commentary de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, under the article ‘Sigebertus Rex,’ says, ‘Dunwich is an ancient city which indeed the ancient East Anglians, as *is clear from the inscriptions on the coins*, used to call Donmoc’ [translation]. These coins, however, are now unknown.

“ Sir John Pettus says, ‘it appears by several coins of gold and silver that there was a mint at Dunwich in the time of Henry II. and III.’ These also are unknown. . . .

“ Gardner . . . has engraved a coin which he supposed to have been struck in this mint. But it is clearly a penny of one of the Edwards coined at Durham, and the true reading CIVITAS DONOLI.

“ Weever says, ‘one Master Holliday told me that he had a grote, whose superscription on the one side was CIVITAS DONWIC.’

“ It appears probable that these authorities made a strong impression upon the mind of Leake, and that whilst he was under their influence he read an indenture between King Henry VI. and Bartholomew Goldbeater, of which he has given the following account: ‘Goldbeater,’ he says, ‘is called in it mint-master en le Cite de Londres, Cite de Denwyk, le Ville de Brisaut et en la Ville de Calais ; and coins struck at the second place mentioned are inscribed CIVITAS DONWIC.’ His authority for these coins, I presume, was the passage in Weever, which

is given above ; but his Cite de Denwyk is founded upon a palpable mis-reading of the record, where the word is most distinctly Den'wyk or De Everwyck, the city of York. . . ."

So far as the coins actually referred to by Ruding are concerned, it does not require an advanced numismatist to see, with Ruding, the fallacy of the attributions, but although no reliance can be placed on the evidence of the above authorities, with the possible exception of the first named, it does not necessarily follow that there is no foundation for the particular fact in question.

Apart, however, from the coins, which it is hoped will be shown to have been minted at Dunwich, there is no direct contemporary evidence for the actual working of a mint ; although it does not seem reasonable to suppose that so important a borough failed to avail itself of the privilege, at some time or other, when coins were issued at and are now known of far smaller and more insignificant places. It is improbable, however, that coins were struck at Dunwich so early as in the time of Æthelstan. It had not, it is thought, by then recovered wholly from the shock of the Viking invasion, which swept away its see. In searching, however, for the readings of coins which might reasonably be supposed to represent the name of the town, it is requisite to advert to the well-known fact that the place was not always called by the name which is familiar to us. As before mentioned, it is referred to in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and I am indebted to Mr. Alfred Anscombe for the following renderings of the town name from the varying manuscripts of that work¹ :—

Domnoc, Moore MS., written A.D. 737 or 738.

Dommoc, Cotton MS., written later in the same century.

Dommoc-ceastre, King Alfred's version, written about A.D. 890.

In addition to the above readings Canon Taylor, in *Words and Places*, gives Dunmoc, and other authorities give Dunmoc and Dumoc, whilst the *Domesday* rendering is Dunewic.

The first coin which appeared to the writer to approximate to one of the renderings of the town name given above is a silver penny of Æthelred II., of type D of *Hildebrand*, Type IV, variety *a*, in the

¹ See also *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 34-35.

British Museum Catalogue, No. 207 of *Hawkins*, and type 4 of the writer's arrangement of the coins of Æthelred II.¹ This coin is now lying as No. 397 amongst the unappropriated coins of Æthelred II. in the British Museum and discloses the following inscriptions :—

Obverse.— + ÆDEL RDE REX XNEO [the NE ligulated].

Reverse.— + OZEXEIX DINMII [? V].



FIG. 1.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II. ATTRIBUTED TO DUNWICH. FOURTH TYPE.

The obverse inscription clearly shows unintentional mis-spelling, and the same might, therefore, have happened in the reverse reading. Apart from this, however, the name as it is inscribed on the coin is not far removed from Dunmoc or Dommoc, the old names of Dunwich, or at least it approximates as near to those names as to any other possible mint.

The moneyer's name is, no doubt, Osgar. A moneyer of this name coined at Bedford and Derby in the same reign, and it is not impossible that he is the same person. The name is most rare on Saxon money, and it is significant that the coins of Bedford and Derby struck by this moneyer are of Type A of *Hildebrand*, the last of the types of Æthelred II., and that which immediately succeeds the type of the coin before us.

Although the attribution to Dunwich of the above coin may be open to question, there seems to be no doubt that the silver penny, of which the reading is given below, was correctly attributed to Dunwich by Hildebrand in his catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm.

Obverse.— + EDEL RÆD REX X • NIG : L :

Reverse.— + EXDSI M^o DVN • II •

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.



FIG. 2.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II. ATTRIBUTED TO DUNWICH. FIFTH AND LAST TYPE.

This coin is of Type A of *Hildebrand*, Type I of the *British Museum Catalogue*, and No. 205 of *Hawkins*. In the writer's arrangement of the coins of Æthelred II. it is placed last of the types of that king, and immediately follows that of the *DINMII* piece.

In the 1841 edition of *Hildebrand* the reading appears as *DVNPI*, and on examination of the cast, the section of the flan between the two final down-strokes of the mint name appears to be slightly raised at the upper part, which lends some colour to the supposition that, after all, the letters *P* are intended. If so we have a reading which substantially agrees with that in the *Domesday Survey*, the Saxon *P* being the Norman *W*, and so *DVNPI* the contraction for *DVNEWIC*.

It has been considered that this coin and the next to be attributed to Dunwich may have been struck at Durham, formerly Dunolm, Dunelm, etc., but in view of the fact that Durham was not founded until A.D. 995, and as the coin in question was probably struck between A.D. 1011 and 1016, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that Durham was not in a sufficiently advanced state by then to have possessed a mint.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, in his luminous account of the mint at Durham,¹ contends that the judgment upon the claim of Bishop Beck in A.D. 1293, that his predecessors had the right of coinage before the Conquest, gives to the northern city the prior claim to any Saxon coins which might, in their readings, equally apply to both towns. While admitting the justice of such a contention in the absence of any evidence for the working of a mint at Dunwich other than similarity of readings, the position in this case is changed by the facts that, firstly, the inscriptions of the coins in question lean more to Dunwich than to Durham and, secondly, that the report on Dunwich in 1583 constitutes a record of the existence of a mint there of a

¹ *Numismatic History of Henry I.*, pp. 176-186.

similar character to Bishop Beck's reference to the Durham mint in the time of Edward I., in so far as, in both cases, the statements are made centuries after the alleged facts. It should, perhaps, be mentioned that Mr. Carlyon-Britton, when touching on the mint of Durham in his "Numismatic History of William I. and II.," also agrees with the old attribution to Dunwich.

So far as the name of the moneyer EADZI goes, it is strongly in favour of Dunwich, since that form of the name occurs only on the London coins of the same type. It is by no means improbable that the EADZI of London was the moneyer who also struck at Dunwich if, as is not unlikely, there was nobody in Dunwich capable of the work of coining. On the other hand, any moneyers who might have been required at Durham would probably have been drawn from York, the northern capital, having regard to the well-established fact that the north of England, even in the time of Æthelred II., was almost as much a separate province as in the days of its independent kings.

Turning now to the reign of Cnut, the long peace which the country enjoyed naturally tended to the development of trade, and in view of the fact that England became the centre of the king's Scandinavian empire, it is no matter for surprise that the ports on the eastern coast prospered considerably during his reign. The historian Green, in his *Conquest of England*, says, "Dunwich, though even then threatened by the sea, was growing fast," and as also Cnut ordained that the laws which obtained in the time of Eadgar, *i.e.*, Æthelstan's laws, should be observed, it is natural to expect that Dunwich possessed a mint during at least some part of Cnut's reign, and the following coin, attributed to Dunwich by Hildebrand, it is thought, may safely be so placed—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLORV.

Reverse.— + LEOFRIC M DVH.



FIG. 3.—PENNY OF CNUT ATTRIBUTED TO DUNWICH. FIRST TYPE.

This coin is in the Royal Swedish Cabinet and is of type E of *Hildebrand*, type VIII of the *British Museum Catalogue*, and No. 212 of *Hawkins*. The writer has reason to think that this is the first real type of the reign of Cnut, and the coin therefore follows consecutively the previous type attributed to Dunwich. *Hildebrand* reads the mint name as DVM, but the cast clearly reads DVH (see illustration, fig. 3). The last letter is, no doubt, intended for N with the bar placed in a horizontal line instead of obliquely. This form of letter is not uncommon on coins of the period, and the antithesis to it, viz., N for H, is also in evidence.

The moneyer's name, LEOFRIC, is so common that very little can be deduced from it. It occurs of, at least, twelve mints in this reign, mostly situated in the eastern counties, including the towns of Norwich, Thetford, and Ipswich. The balance of evidence, such as it is, tends, therefore, to prove that the DVH coin came from an eastern mint.

The fourth and last coin to be attributed to Dunwich has not hitherto been recorded and is in the writer's collection. The reading is as follows:—

Obverse.— + CNVT RECX Λ :

Reverse.— + GODPINE ON DV.



FIG. 4.—PENNY OF CNUT ATTRIBUTED TO DUNWICH. SECOND TYPE.

This coin is of *Hildebrand*, type G, type XIV of the *British Museum Catalogue*, and No. 213 of *Hawkins*. It probably follows in type immediately that of the first coin of Cnut attributed to Dunwich. As in the case of the last described coin very little can be deduced from the moneyer's name, GODPINE, because it is also very common. It occurs of, at least, twenty-four mints. These mints are situated all over the country, and the eastern counties are well represented.

The writer has not been able to discover any other coins which might reasonably be attributed to the mint under discussion, and in the absence of specimens of any of the numerous and large coinages of Edward the Confessor, it seems almost certain that Dunwich ceased to coin after the reign of Cnut. Incidentally, this tends to prove that the last two coins mentioned, on which the reading of the mint-names equally applies to Durham, do not belong to the northern city, for otherwise it would be very difficult to explain the hiatus between Cnut and William the Conqueror, the latter being the first monarch to whom undoubted coins of Durham can be attributed.

In conclusion, the writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the authors named in the text, and to the custodians of the coins in the British Museum and in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm for casts of the Dunwich coins in their care.

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF
WILLIAM I. AND II. (1066—1100.)

BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President*.

PART II.—THE HISTORY OF THE MINTS (*continued*).

NORFOLK :—D.B. *Norfulc, Nordfolc*.

NORWICH :—D.B. *Norwic, Noruic*.

ORWICH, a city and county of itself, is the capital of Norfolk. It is situate somewhat to the north of the British *Cair Gwintguis*, called by the Romans *Venta Icenorum*, and by reason of this relative situation was named by the Angles *Northwic*, from *norð*, north, and *wīc*, a dwelling, the latter word being borrowed from the Latin *vīcus*, a village.

Numismatically, however, the history of Norwich begins with Æthelstan, whose coins bearing the name of this mint are fairly numerous. The name appears upon the money of all his Saxon and Danish successors, with the sole exception of that of Eadwig. The names of Norwich moneyers under Eadred and Eadgar appear also upon certain coins of Eadwig, and it is therefore probable that these were issued there.

From *Domesday* we learn that in the time of Edward the Confessor there were as many as 1,320 burgesses in Norwich.

At the time of the *Survey* these had become reduced in number to 665 English burgesses, who paid the customary dues, and 480 bordars, who, on account of poverty, paid no customary due. The sites of 98 houses had been occupied by the castle erected by the Conqueror.

Notwithstanding its decline in prosperity, the payments by the town had been greatly increased under Norman rule. Under the

Confessor these were 20 pounds to the king and 10 to the earl, and besides, 21 shillings and 4 pence to certain pensioners, and six quarts of honey and 1 bear and 6 dogs for bear-baiting. Under the Conqueror the sum payable to the king was 70 pounds by weight and 100 shillings by tale as a fine to the queen, and 1 goshawk (?) and 20 pounds blanch to the earl and 20 shillings by tale as a fine to G(odric).

The only statement as regards the mint is that, "In this borough the bishop can have 1 moneyer if he wishes."

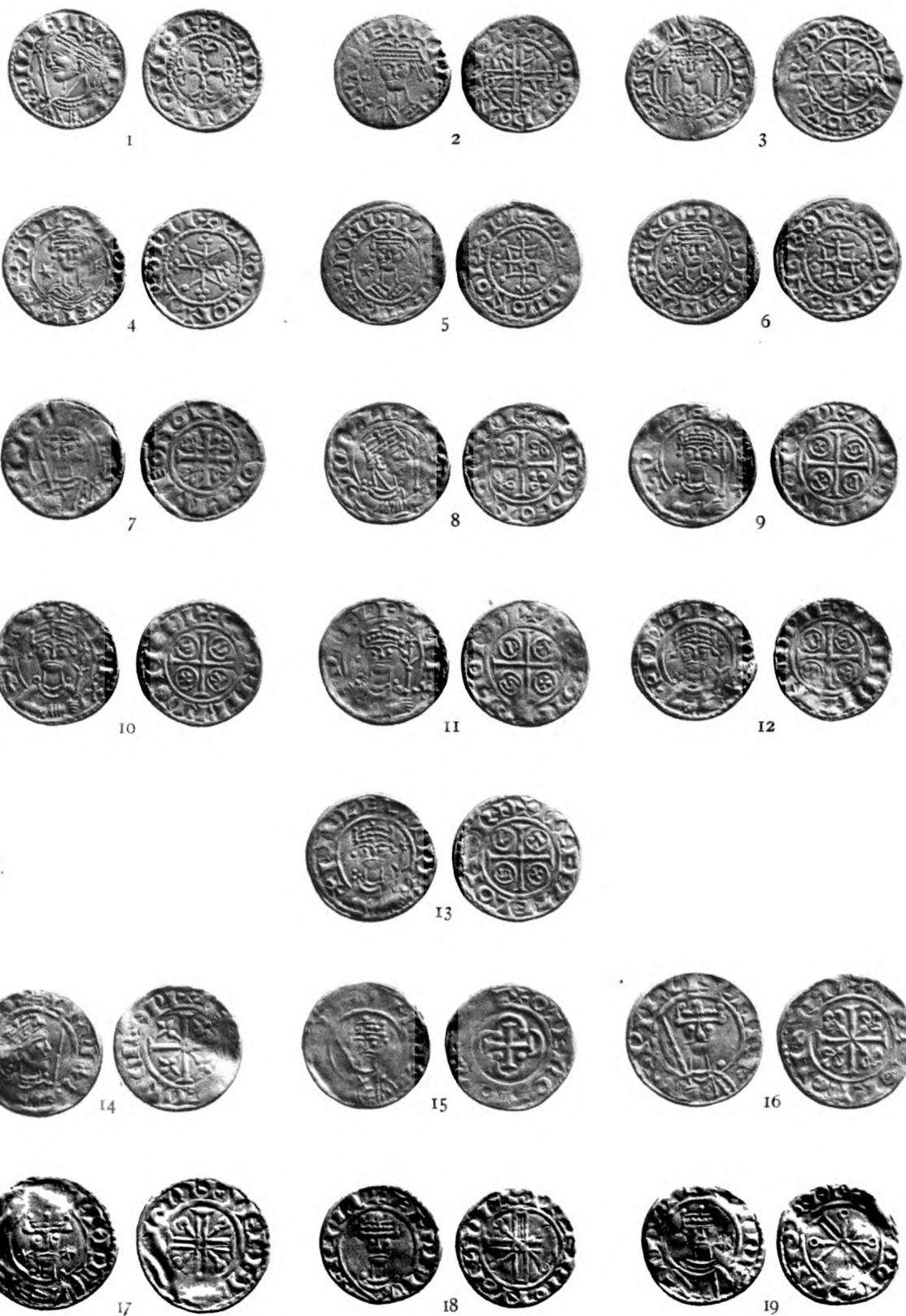
This refers to the Bishop of East Anglia, whose see was at Elmham until 1075, at which date it was removed by Herfast to Thetford. It was not until 1095 that the see was, in turn, transferred from Thetford to Norwich by Bishop Herbert Losinga. The mint at Norwich was, no doubt, originally a royal mint, but, as *Domesday* does not mention any specific payment from it either under the Confessor or under the Conqueror, it had with equal certainty become farmed to the burgesses prior to the decease of the former king, its dues being included in the gross sums paid by them.

The entries in the *Pipe Rolls* of Henry II.'s reign point to the fact that the bishop was then exercising his right to have a moneyer in Norwich.¹

It will be seen on reference to the appended lists that, with the exception of Type III of William I., all the types of the coinages of the Conqueror and of Rufus of the Norwich mint are preserved to us. One is tempted to attribute the lack of Type III to the troubles consequent on the rebellion of Ralf, Earl of the East Angles, called also Ralf Brito and Ralf de Guader, as the time of the currency of Type III synchronizes in part with these disturbances. We, however, think that the present absence of Type III is more likely to be due to the usual circumstance of either non-discovery or the absence of record of discovery, and that sooner or later the apparent gap will be supplied.

The occurrence of the name of Howord (HOPORD, HOPEORD, HOPIORD and HOPORÐ) as that of a moneyer at Norwich under William I. and II., continued also under Henry I., might be made the

¹ See "Historical Notes on the First Coinage of Henry II.," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 197-198.



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THE NORWICH MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1-13.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 14-19.

PLATE XXVI.

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

subject of speculation as to the possible derivation therefrom of that of the family of Howard, now and for so long past Dukes of Norfolk.

Such an inquiry belongs, however, to the province of the genealogists, to whom we commend the question, remarking, however, that numismatically the name occurs at Norwich and at Norwich only.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

* ✠ **EADPINE OMOR**, Plate XXVI, Fig. 1.

No reading given, variety, without sceptre. A Gentleman,
Jan., 1860, Lot 113.

Type II :—

* ✠ **EADPINE ON NORÐ**, York Find, 1845.

* ✠ **ÆDPINE ON NORI**

† ✠ **LIOFOLD ON NOR**, York Find, 1845, Plate XXVI, Fig. 2.

” ” ” **NORD**, York Museum.

* ✠ **ÐVREGRIM ON NO**, York Museum.

Type III :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type IV :—

* ✠ **GODRIC ON NORÐP**

” ” ” **NORÐPI**, variety, three pellets on the king's
right shoulder. L. A. Lawrence.

” ” ” ” City of London Find, 1872 (Guild-
hall Museum).

† ✠ **ÐVRGRM O NORÐPI**, Plate XXVI, Fig. 3.

Type V :—

* ✠ **IEGLRIC O NORPI**

* ✠ **EDPOLD O NORÐI**

† ” ” ” **NORÐPII**, from Alabone, Montagu, Pt. 5,
Lot 75, and L. A. Lawrence
collections. Variety, the usual
quadrilateral ornament being re-
placed by four pyramids.

Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate II, Fig. 39, and Plate XXVI, Fig. 4.

K 2

- * **EDPOPLD O NOÐIR**, Montagu, Lot 217.
- * * **GODRAEI O NOÐRI**, and Mrs. Mary Willett.
- " " " **NOÐPI**
- † * * **GODRALI O NORÐPI**, †Plate XXVI, Fig. 5.
- " " " **NOÐRI**
- * **GODRIE O NORÐPI**, Spicer MS.
- † * **GODPINE O NORÐP**, variety, pellet over the star on the
dexter side of the king's face.
Plate XXVI, Fig. 6.

Type VI:—

- * **GODRIE O NORÐP**, Royal collection at Stockholm.
- † * **GODPINE O NORÐ**, Plate XXVI, Fig. 7.

Type VII:—

- * * **GODRIE O NORÐPI**, another, Royal collection at Stockholm. *Plate XXVI, Fig. 8.

Type VIII:—

- * **EADPEARD O NOR**, Spicer MS.
- * * **EDPOLD O NORÐP**, Beaworth, 4, Tamworth 1.
- † * " " " **NORÐPI**, Beaworth, 22, Plate XXVI, Fig. 9.
- * * **GODRIE O NORÐPIE**, Beaworth, 6.
- † * * **GODRIE BRD O NOÐP**, *Hawkins*, 242, Beaworth, 1,
Plate XXVI, Fig. 10.
- * * **GODPID O NORÐ**, Beaworth, 5.
- * * **GODPINE O NORÐ**, Beaworth, 4.
- * " " " **NORÐI**, Beaworth, 19.
- * " " " **NORÐP**, Beaworth, 66.
- * " " " **NORÐPI**, Beaworth, 2.
- † * * **HOPORD O NORÐP**, Beaworth, 13, Plate XXVI, Fig. 11.
- * " " " **NORÐPI**, Beaworth, 1.
- * " " " **NOÐPI**, Beaworth, 11.
- * * **INHVHE O NOÐPIC** } Beaworth, 8, †Plate XXVI, Fig. 12.
- † * **INHVHE O NOÐPIC** }
- † * * **VLFCITEL O NORÐ**, Beaworth, 9, †Plate XXVI, Fig. 13.
- * " " " **NORÐP**, Beaworth, 43.
- * * **VLFCITL O NORÐPI**, Beaworth, 6.
- * * **VLCITEL O NORÐPI**, Beaworth, 1.
- * **/E O NORÐ/**, cut halfpenny.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

- * ✠ **IEGLRIC O NORÐPI**, Tamworth Find, Plate XXVI,
Fig. 14.
- * ✠ **GODPINE O NOR-H**,

Type 2 :—

- * ✠ **IEGLRIC O NORÐP**, Tamworth Find ; the late Sir John
Evans.
- * ✠ **EDPOLD O NOR**, Tamworth Find.
- * ✠ **GODPINE O NORÐP**, Tamworth Find ; sale at Sotheby's,
19.12.1911, Lot 225.
- † ✠ **OTER O NORÐPIC**, Plate XXVI, Fig. 15.

Type 3 (4) :—

- † ✠ **HOPEORD O NORÐ**, from Montagu, Lot 258, Plate XXVI,
Fig. 16.
- † [✠ **HOPE**] **ORD O NORÐ**, from different dies. Found in the
Thames at Pimlico.
- * ✠ **HOPIO[RD O] NORÐ**, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Type 4 (3) :—

- † ✠ **IELFR[IC O] NORI**, Plate XXVI, Fig. 17.
- * ✠ **HOPORÐ O NORÐI**, and Trinity College, Cambridge,
*Plate XXVI, Fig. 19.
- * ✠ **IILFRI O NORÐPIC**, *Hawkins*, 249, Plate XXVI, Fig. 18.

Type 5 :—

- * ✠ **BRIESEL O NORÐI**, Spicer MS.
- * ✠ **HOPIORD O NOR**, Hunterian collection.

THETFORD :—D.B. *Tetford*.

The ancient borough of Thetford was called by the East Angles *Theodford*, indicating its situation at a ford over the River *Theod*, or *Thet*, which divides the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The larger portion of the town is in Norfolk.

In the Montagu sale catalogue, lot 626, a penny of Æthelstan is attributed to this mint, but the reading is by no means convincing, and, in the present writer's opinion, it should be assigned to Derby.

There are undoubted Thetford coins of Eadgar and of all his Saxon and Danish successors.

Domesday informs us that in the time of the Confessor there were 943 burgesses in the borough, and that at the date of the Survey there were 720 burgesses and 224 empty messuages. The pre-Conquest payments were 20 pounds by tale to the king and 10 pounds by tale to the earl. At the date of *Domesday* the borough rendered to the king 50 pounds by weight, and to the earl 20 pounds blanch, and 6 pounds by tale.

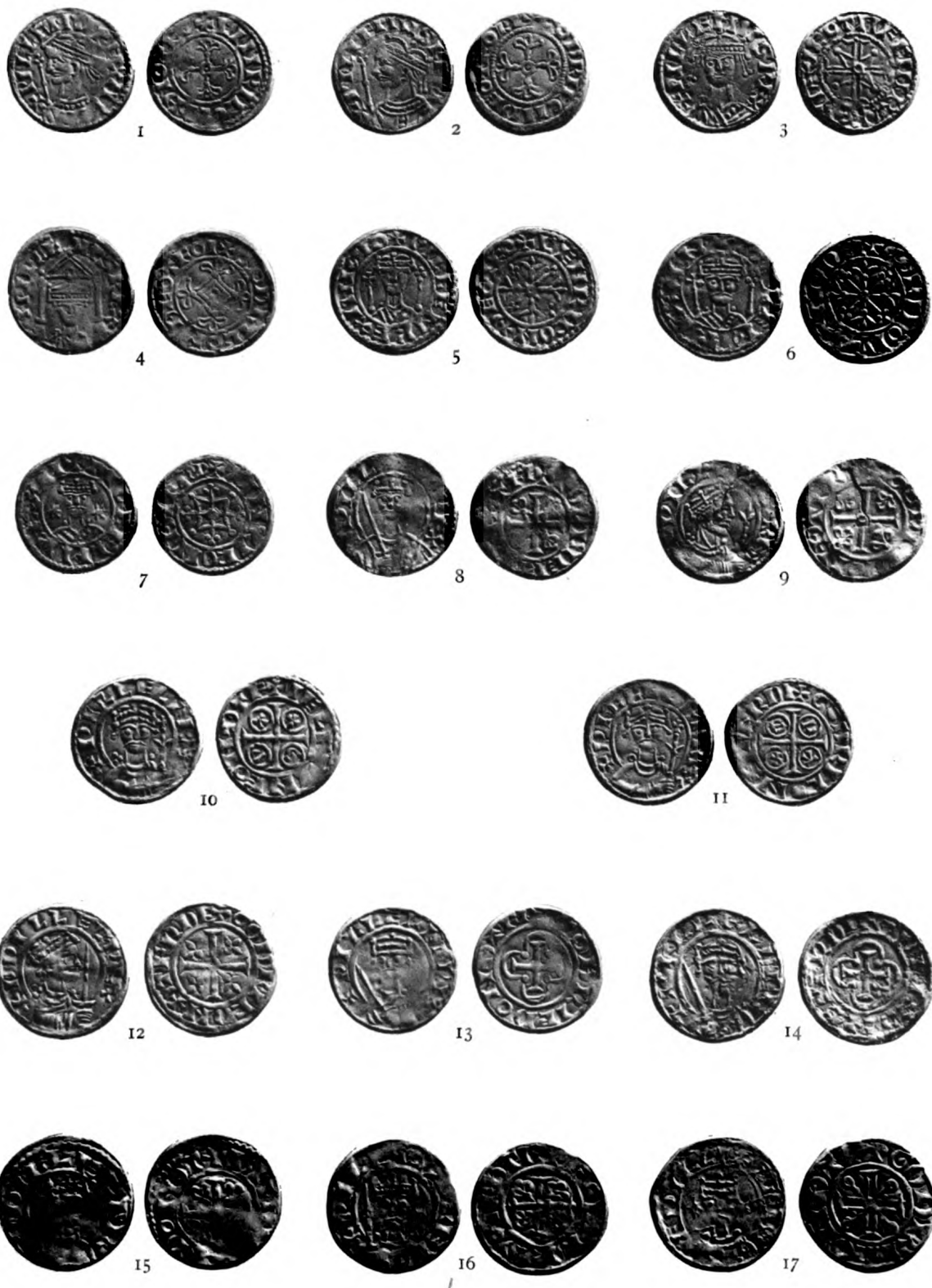
Then follows the important numismatic statement: "Now also it renders to the king 40 pounds from the mint, and then as now 16 shillings to two pensioners."

From these entries we infer that the mint at Thetford was a royal mint, and that subsequently to the death of King Edward and before the date of the Survey it had been farmed to the burgesses. The ordinary interpretation of *Domesday* terms, requires us to believe that the render of £40 from the mint was an annual payment, but the amount would seem to be large. It must, however, not be forgotten that the see of East Anglia had been removed from Elmham to Thetford in 1075, and that this circumstance was calculated to greatly increase the importance and prosperity of the borough.

Moreover, it would not seem that in writing of money and payments in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times a sufficiently liberal view of the wealth of the country and of the amount of money coined has been always kept in view.

Numismatists and historians alike appear to have sometimes based their views upon the amount of any given coinage now preserved to us.

Our records for the five years 1243 to 1247 give the absolute information that the number of "short-cross" pennies struck in that period was between 67 and 68 *millions*, whilst the issue of "long-cross" pennies for the five years 1261 to 1265 comprised between 64 and 65 *millions*.



PHOTOPHANE CO. S. E.

THE THETFORD MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1-11
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 12-17.

PLATE XXVII.

From a critical study of the subject the present writer deduces that the conditions and output of pennies per annum were not very dissimilar as far back as the reigns of Æthelred II. and Cnut.

It will be seen from the appended lists that specimens of all the types of the reigns of William I. and II. struck at Thetford, are in evidence in our collections of the present day.

WILLIAM I.

Type I:—

- † * **LINRIE ON ÐIOTFO**, Plate XXVII, Fig. 1.
- * **GOD ON ÐEOTFORD**, the late Sir John Evans.
- " " " " W. S. Lincoln and Son, broken.
- † * **GODRIC ON ÐEOTFORI**, Plate XXVII, Fig. 2.
- * **GODPINE ON ÐIOTF**, B. Roth, from Montagu, Pt. 5, Lot 61.
- * * **GODINE ON ÐEOTF**

Type II:—

- † * **LINRIE ON Ð*IEOTNF**, and York Museum, † Plate XXVII, Fig. 3.
- * **LINRIE ON * IEOTNF**, York Find, 1845.
- * **ELFPI ON ÐETFORD**, Simpson sale, but a misreading for **OXEFORD**
- * **GOD ON ÐEOTEORI**, York Museum.
- " " " **ÐEOTEORND**, York Museum.
- * " " **ÐEOT - - - ND**
- " " **ONN ÐEOTFOR**, York Museum.
- * * **GODRIC ON ÐEOTFO**, and York Museum.
- * * **GODPINE ON ÐEOT**, York Find, 1845 (3).
- " " " " City of London Find, 1872.
- " " " **ÐEOTI**, York Museum.
- * **OZBEARN ON ÐET**, H. Alexander Parsons.
- * * **OTBEARN ON ÐETOI**, two specimens from the same dies, York Find, 1845.
- [] **'ON ÐEOTFOR**, York Find, 1845.

Type III:—

- * **ESBERN ON ÐEOTF**, Spicer MS.
- † * **GOD ON ÐEOTFORDI**

- † * **GODRIC ON ðEOTFOI**, Plate XXVII, Fig. 4.
 " " " **ðEOT**, St. Mary Hill Church Find.
 * * **GODPINE ON ðEOTFI**, Allen, Lot 341; W. S. Lincoln
 and Son.
 * * **OSBEARN ON ðEOTE**, St. Mary Hill Church Find.

Type IV :—

- * * **LENRIC ON ðEOTFI**
 † " " " **ðEOTFO**, from Bieber and Montagu, Lot 208,
 sales, Plate XXVII, Fig. 5.
 * * **ESBEARN ON ðEOTI**
 * **FOLERD ON ðTFRD**, Spicer MS.
 * **GODRIC ON ðEOTFO**, F. A. Walters.
 " " " **ðFRDEI**, Montagu, Pt. 5, Lot 72.
 † * **GORIC ON ðTFRDEI**, Plate XXVII, Fig. 6.

Type V :—

- * * **LINRIC ON ðETF**
 " " " **ðETFR**, York Museum.
 † " " " **ðTFRD**, from O'Hagan, 18.12.1907, Lot 410,
 Plate XXVII, Fig. 7.
 * **ESBERN ON ðET**, Christmas, Lot 222.
 * " " " **ðEOTF**, Beaworth Find; and Lt.-Col. H. W.
 Morrieson.
 * **FOLCIERD ON ðTFI**, Spicer MS.
 * * **FOLLARD ON ðTFI**, Beaworth Find.
 * **GODRED ON ðTFR**, Allen, Lot 363.
 * * **GODRIC ON ðEOTF**, Beaworth Find.
 " " " **ðTFEI**

Type VI :—

- * **ELGERD ON ðTFOR**, Durrant, Lot 120, ? misreading of
FOLERD.
 * * **FOLCIERD ON ðTFI**, Plate XXVII, Fig. 8.
 * * **FOLERD ON ðTFRD**, and Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, from
 Moon sale, Lot 40.
 * **GODRED ON ðTFRD**, Rashleigh, Lot 385.
 * * **GODRIC ON ðTFRD**

Type VII :—

- * **LINRIC ON ðTFRD**, a Gentleman, Jan., 1860, Lot 109.
 † * **GODRED ON ðTFR**, from L. A. Lawrence, Plate XXVII,
 Fig. 9.

Mule, Types VII–VIII :—

- * ♣ **FOLCIHERD ON ðTI**, Montagu, Pt. 5, Lot 78.

Type VIII :—

- † * ♣ **IELFPINE ON ðTF**, Beaworth, 39, Plate XXVII, Fig. 10.
- † * " " " **ðTFI**, Beaworth, 13.
- * " " " **ðTFR**, Beaworth, 6.
- * ♣ **FOLCIHERD ON ðTFI**, Beaworth, 12.
- " " " " *Hawkins*, 242 *Rashleigh*, Lot 385.
- * " **FOLCIHERD ON ðTI**,
- * ♣ **CODELEF ON ðTFRI**, Beaworth, 1.
- * ♣ **CODELF ON ðTFRI**, Beaworth, 6.
- * ♣ **GODINC ON ðTFRD**, Beaworth, 7.
- " " " " *Hawkins*, 242, *Rashleigh*, Lot 385.
- * ♣ **GODRED ON ðTF**, Beaworth, 3.
- * " " " **ðTFER**, Beaworth, 1.
- * " " " **ðTFRD**, Beaworth, 4.
- * " " " **ðTFP**, Beaworth, 3.
- * ♣ **GODRIC ON ðTFRDI**, Beaworth, 28.
- † " " " " *Hawkins*, 242 ; and W. C. Wells.
- † Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate III, Fig. 60, and Plate XXVII, Fig. 11.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

- * ♣ **IELFPINE ON ðTFR**, Allen, Lot 341.
- * ♣ **BALDRIC ON ðETFR**
- * ♣ **FOLCIHERD ON ðTFR**
- " " " **ðTFI**, Royal collection at Stockholm.
- * ♣ **GODRIED ON ðTFR**, Spicer MS.
- * ♣ **GODRIC ON ðTFRDE**, Tamworth Find ; the late F. G. Hilton Price, *Plate XXVII, Fig. 12.
- * ♣ **NEIGEL ON ðTFRDI**, and B. Roth, from Montagu, Pt. 5, Lot 83.

Type 2 :—

- * ♣ **BVNON ON ðTI**
 - * ♣ **BVNDND ON ðTF**
 - * ♣ **BANPIND ON ðTF**, Montagu, Pt. 5, Lot 87.
- This and the preceding coin are possibly the same.

- * **✠ DVNIE ON ÐTFRD**
- * **✠ FOLCIERD ON ÐTFR**, Tamworth Find.
- * **✠ GODINE ON ÐTFI**
- † **✠ GODRIED ON ÐTFR**, Plate XXVII, Fig. 13.
- * **✠ GODRIC ON ÐTFRD**
- † **✠ GDRIC ON ÐTFRDI**, Plate XXVII, Fig. 14.

Type 3 (4) :—

- * **✠ BVR[NA]RD ONÐT**, the late Sir John Evans, Plate XXVII, Fig. 15.
- * **✠ FOLIERD ON ÐTF**, overstruck on a coin of the type of *Hawkins*, 250, Plate XXVII, Fig. 16.

Type 4 (3) :—

- * **✠ FOLIERD ON ÐTF**, W. S. Lincoln and Son.
- * **✠ GODRIC ON ÐTFRI**
- † „ „ „ **ÐTF**, variety, a pellet in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the cross on reverse.

Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate IV, Fig. 84, and Plate XXVII, Fig. 17.

Type 5 :—

- No reading given, Whitmore, Lot 127.
- * **✠ BVNDI ON - TFR**

YARMOUTH (GREAT) :—D.B. *Gernemuua*, *Gernemutha*.

The ancient borough of Yarmouth is, as its name implies, situate at the mouth of the River Yare.

Domesday informs us that it was held by King Edward the Confessor. Then and at the date of the Survey it had 70 burgesses. In King Edward's time it was worth, with 2 parts of the soke of 3 hundreds, 18 pounds by tale, and the earl's part was 9 pounds by tale. At the time of *Domesday* the king's 2 parts were worth 17 pounds and sixteen shillings and four pence blanch, and the earl's part 10 pounds blanch.

From the above extract it will be seen that Yarmouth in the time of the Confessor was a Royal borough, and that its status so continued under the Conqueror.

These conditions, as we have endeavoured to show in Chapter VII, *The Domesday Boroughs*, in vol. iii of this journal, pp. 164-170, import the existence of a mint.

At present we are unaware of any Anglo-Saxon coin capable of attribution to Yarmouth, and the only Norman coin we know that may so, provisionally, be attributed, is one of Type V of William I. reading

✠ LEOFPINE ON ERAMI.

It may, we think, be conceded that where the Norman scribe wrote *Gernemuua* or *Gernemutha* an English scribe would have written *Eremutha*, for neither the initial *g* nor the internal *n* is essential to the name, as its present form sufficiently indicates. That this is no mere assumption is shown by the mediæval corporate seal of Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight which bears the inscription

S. COMMVNE • DE • ERE • MVE.

The **I** which terminates the inscription upon the coin probably represents an incomplete **II** = **V**, which gives us **ERAMV**, a form practically identical with **EREMVA**.

We, however, think that Yarmouth in Norfolk is the place indicated by the coin, as Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight did not become a borough until a considerable time after the date of *Domesday*.

WILLIAM I.

Type V :—



PENNY OF WILLIAM I., TYPE V, YARMOUTH MINT.

† ✠ LEOFPINE ON ERAMI.

This is the sole coin of this mint that has been noted.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE :—D.B. *Northantscire*.

NORTHAMPTON :—D.B. *Northantone, Hantone*.

The ancient borough of Northampton gives its name to the shire of which it is the chief town.

There were in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times many places bearing the common name of *Hamton* or, according to the usual *Domesday* spelling, *Hantone*.

In connection with our present subject all of these except *Hamton*, now known as Southampton, and *Hamton*, now known as Northampton, may be disregarded. These two places were boroughs in Anglo-Saxon times, and so continued to be throughout the Norman period. Although we are in accord with prior writers in thinking that the *Hamton* mentioned in the laws of Æthelstan enacted at Greatley, and to which two moneyers were assigned, is the place now called Southampton, we disagree with their conclusion that the *Hamton* now known as Northampton was excluded from the general right thereby given to unspecified boroughs for each to have one moneyer (see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 13-15).

The solution would appear to be that both Southampton and Northampton issued coins from the time of Æthelstan, and that these, so far as pre-Conquest coins are concerned, are at present intermixed in our cabinets and are all there attributed to the southern town.

The same remark applies in part to the Norman series.

At the time the coins were issued the names of the moneyers would be sufficient to enable persons concerned to distinguish the town whence they respectively emanated, but to-day the task of separating them is so difficult that hitherto no serious attempt has been made to perform it. On the contrary the easy, but entirely illogical and unjustifiable, plan has been adopted of assigning all *Hamton* coins to Southampton.

The only exception to this general practice is Mr. Grueber's attribution to Northampton of a penny of Eadgar bearing the inscription ✠ **BALDRIC MONETA** • **N** • **AM**. This piece formed lot 722 at the Montagu sale in November, 1895, and the following note

is appended :—" This is the only known coin of this series which can be attributed with certainty to Northampton." It is now in the present writer's collection.

Fortunately for our purpose of elucidation the name of Baldric as that of a moneyer is of very rare occurrence, so we turn with interest to *The British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins* to see what light upon the matter may thence be obtained. In vol. i the name does not occur, but in vol. ii we obtain the following :—

Æthelstan. No. 151. ✱ **BALDRIC NO MT**
Eadmund. No. 157. ✱ **BALDRIC MOIET**
Eadred. No. 14. **BALDRIC M-O**
Eadwig. p. 156. List of Moneyers, *Baldric (Southampton).*
Eadgar. p. 163. " " *Baldric (Bedford,*
Southampton).
Eadweard II. No. 3. ✱ **BALDIC MONETA • BEDA,**
Bedford.
Æthelræd II. p. 197. *Baldic*, no mint.

The information is not conclusive, but the association of Baldric with *Hamton* and *Bedford* points to *Hamton* being in this instance Northampton rather than Southampton.

What we have written above is by way of a suggestion as regards the methods to be followed in order to separate the Southampton and Northampton coins of Saxon date.

It is not impossible that the coins of Æthelred II. of the uncertain mint *Hamwic* may represent an early and soon discontinued attempt to distinguish the southern and northern *Hamtons*. That they do not belong to Harwich we have already endeavoured to show (see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, p. 26).

The account of Northampton in *Domesday* stands at the head of the Survey of Northamptonshire. In it the names *Northantone* and *Hantone* both occur. As in the case of Southampton also there is no mention of mint or moneyers. The coins of our period which undoubtedly bear the name of *Northantone* are limited to three in number of Type II of William I. All are from the same dies, the best specimen being in the collection of Mr. W. C. Wells, and the other two in the cabinet of the writer.

The legend disclosed upon the reverses is

*** SÆPINE ON NODHANT**

The name of the moneyer Sæwine is, for our purposes, unfortunate, inasmuch as it occurs upon coins of many and widely separated mints of the period, and, in particular, upon many of the coins now attributed to Southampton.

The form for Northampton on the last two types of Henry I. (*Hawkins* 262 and 255) becomes definitely **NORHAM**, but in the immediately preceding type (*Hawkins* 265) we have *** PAIEN : ON HAMTV**, which must be compared with *** PAIEN : ON : NORHAM** (*Hawkins* 255).

Another circumstance is that under Henry I. the **HAMTVN** (Southampton?) coins appear to cease when the **NORHAM** coins begin, from which it might be argued that there is greater likelihood of all the post-Conquest coins being of Northampton rather than of Southampton.

It follows from all the above that those who are interested in the coinage of Northampton must refer also to the coins attributed to Southampton, and that the meagre list appended to this section must be read in conjunction with that given in our account of the Hampshire mint.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type II :—

*** SÆPINE ON NODHANT**, W. C. Wells. Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate I, Fig. 16.

† " " " " two specimens from the same dies.



PENNIES FROM THE SAME DIES OF WILLIAM I., TYPE II, NORTHAMPTON MINT.

N.B.—One of the secondly described specimens is believed to be from M. H. Bobart's sale at Sotheby's, November 13th, 1894, lot 5 where it is read ✠ **STEFNE ON NO-AM.**

Types III, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII :—

No examples hitherto noted.

WILLIAM II.

No example hitherto noted.

N.B.—Refer to Southampton, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 158–161.

PETERBOROUGH :—D.B. *Burg.*

Much might be written as to the history and importance of this ancient place, but the only reason for referring to it in this work is that Eadgar in the year 970 granted to the monastery of Burch, formerly called Medehamsted, the right to have one moneyer in Stamford. In Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. iii, p. 543, the words of the grant are, "ac unum monetarium in Stawmford in perpetuam libertatem concedimus," and in a later form of the same charter, ascribed to the year 972, printed *op. cit.*, p. 579, the words are "et unum monetarium in Stanforde in perpetuam libertatem concedimus."

Both versions refer to earlier grants to Medehamsted by Wulfhere and Æthelred, kings of Mercia, but the grant of the right to a moneyer in Stamford is, of course, an additional and entirely new grant by King Eadgar.

The second version purports to have been confirmed by the following kings, namely, Eadweard the Martyr, Æthelred II., Cnut, Edward the Confessor, and William I.

No coins were issued at or bear the name of Peterborough, but any that were issued under the terms of the above-mentioned charter and its confirmations must be sought amongst the coins of Stamford.

The coins of Type II of William I. reading ✠ **LEOFINE ON BVR** and ✠ **LEOFINE ON BVRI**, heretofore assigned to Peterborough, belong, in the present opinion of the writer, to Bury St. Edmund's.

THE LONG-CROSS COINAGE OF HENRY III. AND EDWARD I.

BY L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

IT is somewhat surprising that so little is to be found from the pens of the older writers concerning the coins of Henry III. issued from 1247 until his death in 1272, and of the same type of coin continued by his son Edward I. until 1279. Happily with these issues there is no difficulty in placing the majority—the large majority—to the reign of Henry III. Two chroniclers, Matthew Paris and John of Oxenedes, give representations of the reverse in their manuscripts, and the coins themselves, except those of the first class to be described, bear either the letters **TARDI** or the Roman numerals **III** after the king's title **REX**.

The coinage was ordered in 1247 on account of the bad condition of the money then in use, due both to the ordinary wear and tear of currency and attentions of the clipper.

As a whole, the coins may be described as bearing the king's head crowned on the obverse surrounded by his name and title as a legend, and on the reverse a long cross, voided or double, extending to the edge of the coin and terminating in pellets, and four groups of three pellets, one group in each angle. The legends of the reverse were nearly always the moneyer's name and the mint name divided by the word **ON**. The coinage as a whole is remarkable for the ligulation of letters which is to be found upon it, and it may also be noticed here that there is never a mint-mark on the reverse, a fact which makes the coins somewhat difficult to decipher as there is nothing on them to give a clue to the beginning of the legend. This has caused some curious

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errors to creep into the few lists we have of these coins from the hands of some of our earlier numismatists. Another source of error is the great resemblance of some of the letters to others in the curious Gothic alphabet exhibited on the coins. An **h** has been mistaken for an **R** and both have been given the place of a **h**.

The historical portion of the story of the long-cross coinage will be left in the able hands of Mr. Earle Fox. It comprises the records of the chroniclers and also many allusions in the various series of the rolls. Reference to them here will be used only to make clear obscure points.

Classification.—The long-cross coins fall naturally into two main divisions, those in which the king is holding a sceptre in his right hand and those without hand and sceptre. Good reasons will be shown for placing the sceptreless group first in point of issue. Each of the two divisions may be further subdivided.

COINS WITHOUT SCEPTRE.

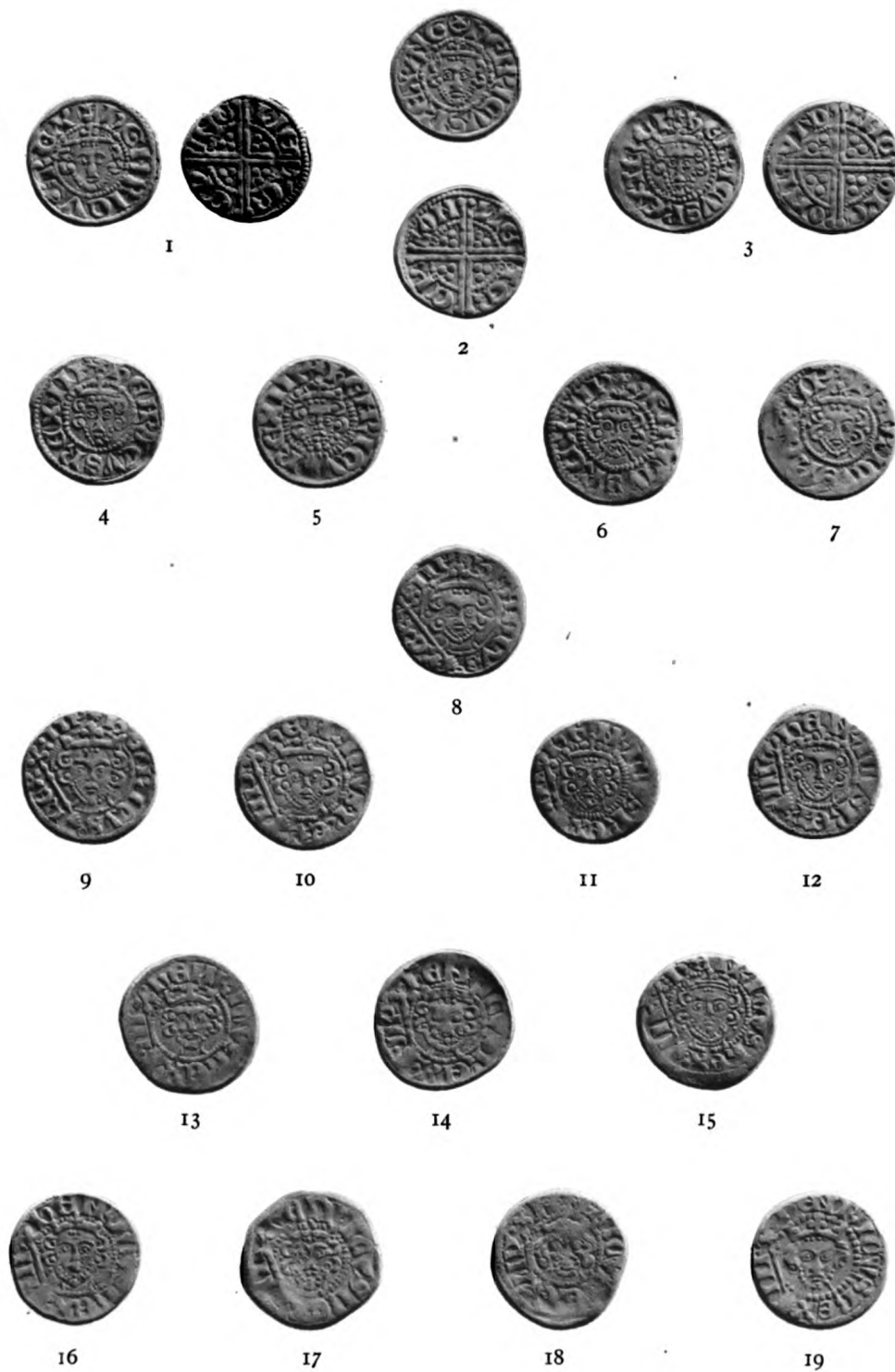
The non-sceptre coins bear four different legends on the obverse—

- Coins reading
1. **HENRICVS REX**
 2. **HENRICVS REX ANG**
 3. **HENRICVS REX TERCII**
 4. **HENRICVS REX III**

Each of these four groups, besides bearing different legends, has other characters which differentiate it almost as well as the legends. It is, however, convenient to use the legend as a description of the type.

Class I*.—*Obverse.* King's bust, wearing a crown composed of a flat band, a pellet at either end and a central ornament consisting of two lateral pellets and a central pellet above them thus . The beard is expressed by lines, the king's side locks by little crescents, two on each side, the hair below the crown by pellets, the eyes are punched in by two blows of a markedly crescentic iron, with a pellet in the centre, . There is an inner circle composed of dots. (Plate, Fig. 1.)

The legend is **HENRICVS : REX**, all the letters of which are separated. Two pellets, colon-wise, are placed between the two words,



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TYPES OF THE LONG-CROSS COINAGE.

PLATE I.

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and the mint-mark is a crescent and star placed above the king's head. The legend begins to the right of this mark.

Reverse.—That typical of the whole coinage. There is an extra pellet in the centre of each group of the three pellets. The legend is a continuation of that on the obverse, viz., **ÆNG/LIÆ/TER/CI'**; **Æ** and **H** and **R** ligulated; a mark of abbreviation after the last word.

The type is rare, even now since the discovery of the vast hoard in Brussels some three years ago. As neither a mint name nor the name of a moneyer figures on these coins we must conclude that they were struck in London.

Class I.—This differs from Class I* in the following particulars:—

The obverse legend is **ÆNRICVS REX ÆNG**. The bust is generally longer and thinner. The beard is usually represented by double or treble rows of pellets with a large pellet at the point. The reverse legend continues that of the obverse and adds the first syllable of the mint name. (Plate, Fig. 2.) The coins were struck at three mints only, viz., London, Canterbury, and St. Edmundsbury and are tabulated below—

LONDON.

ÆNRICVS REX ÆNG	...	LIÆ/TER/CI'•/LOH —five pellets under crown, extra pellets in the quarters.
ÆNRICVS REX•ÆNG	...	LIÆ/TER/CI'•/LOH —five pellets under crown, beard as Class I*.
ÆNRICVS REX•ÆNG	...	LIÆ/TER/CI'•/LOH — three pellets under crown, one extra pellet in one quarter.
ÆNRICVS REX•ÆNG	...	LIÆ/TER/CI'•/LOH — three pellets under crown, one extra pellet in one quarter.
ÆNRICVS REX ÆNG	...	LIÆ/TER/CI'•/LVH —five pellets under crown.

CANTERBURY.

ÆNRICVS•REX ÆNG	...	LIÆ/TER/CI':/CÆH —five pellets under crown.
ÆNRICVS REX ÆNG	...	LIÆ/TER/CI':/CÆH —five pellets under crown.

ST. EDMUNDSBURY.

HENRICVS REX ANG ... LIE/TÆ/CI/ÆD

This last coin is very rare indeed. It will be remembered that Mr. Baldwin exhibited to the Society one of the two examples from the Brussels hoard.

MULES.

There are mules of Class I* and Class I both ways, issued from the London mint—

HENRICVS REX	LIE/TÆ/CI/LON
HENRICVS REX ANG	ANG/LIE/TÆ/CI'

Before going further with a description of types a short digression must be made in reference to the lettering. On all the coins of the first division, viz., those without the sceptre, certain forms appear which characterize the whole division. The letter **Æ** always has a straight first stroke, not a curved line. The **Ń** is sometimes formed with a slanting bar, sometimes, perhaps more often, with a straight bar, making the letter look somewhat like a Roman H. It should not, however, be mistaken for this, as on the coins the latter letter invariably appears as **h**. The **Ń** is always barred from left to right if there is any inclination of the stroke. **R** is represented by an upright post, an upper crescent as the bow and the tail is usually triangular. Three irons were used for its formation and it shows practically no variation until the last type of this division is reached.

Ligulation is carried out most carefully and methodically, especially on the obverse. Except on the coins of Class I* and on one group in the sceptred division all the coins issued during the life of Henry III. have the ligation **ŃR** in the king's name. These letters will be set out in the lists as clearly as possible so that no further remark about them need here be made.

The letter X varies somewhat on the early coins. The forms are **✕** and later **✕** in which both the limbs are of the same shape and size.

It will have been noticed that Class I was issued from three mints, London, Canterbury, and St. Edmundsbury. These are the mints, with

the addition of Durham, which were the mainstays of the coinage during the earlier years of Henry III. Messrs. Fox have shown in relation to the coinage of Edward I. and II. that these same mints were those in which constant work was going on. It will be seen in their account why the mint of Durham is not represented in the non-sceptre series.¹ It will also be noted during the whole period of the long-cross coinage that these three mints were those to issue all the various types.

Class II presents the king with the long thin face, bearded as on the previous coins of Class I. (Plate, Fig. 3.) There are sometimes five pellets under the crown, but generally only three.

The mint-mark is a star. The legend is **HENRICVS REX TERCII**. **H** and **R** are always ligulated in the last word, and on almost all specimens a sign of abbreviation and a pellet appear after **TERCII**. The reverse legend consists of the usual names of mint and moneyer on this and on all subsequent types.

Class III gives us the Roman numeral **III** in place of the word **TERCII**. There are three chief varieties of bust associated with this, the last type of the first or non-sceptred division—

- a.* The bust as on Class II, the **TERCII** bust. The legend has almost invariably a small pellet between **REX** and **III**. There are no pellets between the upper and lower curls. (Plate, Fig. 4.)
- b.* A shorter and rounder bust, again with a single pellet in the legend. (Plate, Fig. 5.)
- c.* A more pointed bust with lines indicating the neck. This variety usually shows two pellets, colon-wise, between **REX** and **III**, also a single pellet between the upper and lower curl on each side. The king's eyes are formed of an annulet enclosing a pellet. (Plate, Figs. 6 and 7.) There are a few coins in Class III which exhibit slight differences from the normal in the presence or absence of the pellets. They will be noted under the mints where they occur.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, p. 94.

The pellets are an easy mode of distinction of the varieties, though in themselves they would appear to be of little importance. There is no doubt that with them we find other alterations of certain letters which indicate, at least, a change of irons in use at the mint : thus on the earlier coins of this division, Classes I*, I, and II give an X which is formed thus **X** : on Class III the X is represented **X**. The **R** previously referred to becomes, on many members of Class III, var. **℞**, a very recognizable letter and one which is continued upon the earlier coins of the sceptred division.

COINS WITH SCEPTRE.

This division consists of at least eight recognizable types, each one for the most part gradually altering into the next.

Class IV.—A transitional type. (Plate, Fig. 8.)

The earliest coin with a sceptre is, except for this particular symbol, almost exactly the counterpart of the third variety of Class III. As in that class the star is still present and in the same position above the king's head at the top of the coin. The legend begins in the same place. The pellets are almost invariably present. The sceptre pierces the inner circle between **REX** and **III**. Thus the word **REX** is found on this type along the outer side of the sceptre. The handle of sceptre ends in an annulet. The king's crown presents two varieties, viz., that seen on Class III, and a new variation with a large central fleur-de-lys and a half-lys at each end. (Plate, Fig. 9.) Some of these coins, presumably the later varieties, show small crescents outside the curls. The letter **℞** previously straight limbed, now has an ornamental first stroke. This letter was continued on all subsequent issues. The issue is rare and could have been in use but for a very short time. It occurs of the three mints London, Canterbury, and St. Edmundsbury, the only mints regularly issuing the coins with the sceptre.

The types now to be described constitute the well known and mostly common coins in the long-cross series. The sceptre is now placed so that the numeral **III** is at its outer side. This alteration necessitated the removal of the mint-mark. The legend begins at the

left side of the king's head, and the centre of the crown is below and between the **Q** and **N** of the king's name. The type of the king's crown is an easy mark for classification, but here again other features are altered to produce a fresh type.

Class *Va*.—Coins closely resembling those of Class IV in style, shape of bust and lettering. The old crown is retained and the lettering is the same as on the last type. One new form is introduced in the letter **x** which now commonly becomes **⌘** although the earlier **x** is to be found on some of the coins. The king's eyes are round. The two pellets outside the curls disappear, but the crescents above referred to are retained. (Plate, Fig. 10.) On the very earliest examples of this group a pellet is found dividing the king's name from his title.

Class *Vb*.—This class closely resembles the last. The king's head is not quite so compact and fills rather more of the field limited by the inner circle: the high crown is still in evidence. The eyes are round. This, taken with a new form of **R** with a wedge-shaped tail, is perhaps the easiest way of distinguishing the class. (Plate, Fig. 11.)

Class *Vc*.—A new feature on this class is recognizable in the king's eyes. They are now punched in with irons which give an oval outline. These oval eyes were continued on all subsequent coins. The high crown and other characteristics of Class *Vb* are closely followed. Crescents are nearly always in evidence, but in what may be a slightly later issue, pellets are punched in outside the two curls as formerly. One or two coins also exhibit a row of little pellets along the outline of the beard, between this and the inner circle. The lettering is practically unaltered. (Plate, Fig. 12.)

Class *Vd*.—The class next to be described is of an entirely different character. The king's crown shows a well-marked central fleur-de-lys. The sides exhibit halves of the same flower; between the central fleur and the sides there would seem to be a further small ornament. The band of the crown on some coins appears to be slightly doubled. These characters are not at all clear on all the coins owing to a fault developing in the single iron, which was used for striking in this new crown on the dies. The band thus often appears as single, broad and flat, and the

ornaments at either side of the central fleur become oblong and faulty. The make-up of the bust is somewhat difficult to describe in terms of crescents, pellets, etc., which in themselves resemble those found on earlier coins, but the result is a strikingly different bust. Pellets between the curls are the rule. The letter irons are also totally different in form, with the result that the letters themselves bear only a slight resemblance to those found in Class *Vc*. The uprights are thicker and I think longer than on former coins, and they are slightly hollowed out above and below. The **H** is frequently barred from right to left instead of normally from left to right. The ligation of the **H** and the **R**, though often present with the normally shaped **H**, is absent in the retrograde variety. A new **R** and **X** are now found. (Plate, Fig. 13.)

Class *Ve*.—Pearly crown. This type is most closely related to that last described. The chief difference is seen in the band of the crown, which instead of being plain and flat is now made to show a row of jewels. The remaining characters, such as the make-up of the bust and the lettering, closely follow Class *Vd*. Some of the coins with this jewelled crown, bear it perched on top of the old bust with the crescents described under Class *Vc*. (Plate, Fig. 14.)

Class *Vf*.—On this type a third form of crown is exhibited. The band is markedly double. There is a low fleur-de-lys as a central ornament. The side ornaments are large pellets. The central fleur is still between the letters **A** and **H** of the king's name but seldom reaches up to their bases. The king's bust resembles that on the first oval-eyed class, but crescents are not found; in their place pellets are used to fill up all vacant spaces outside the curls and beard. **R** and **X** are of the same forms as those described on Class *Vd*, but are made with finer wrought irons, and therefore more resemble the letters on the earlier groups; this resemblance is shown in the whole legend. Occasionally a row of three pellets is to be noticed before the **h**, between it and the sceptre head. The **h** itself has a tail curving outwards to the **A** instead of hitherto inwards to its own first stroke. (Plate, Fig. 15.)

Class *Vg*.—The chief difference between this and the type of the double crown, Class *Vf*, is in the shape of the band of the crown, which is

single. The crown is low and has the same ornaments as last described. The same new letters **h**, **R**, and **X** are again in evidence. Pellets are used as a fringe round the head, or as six large pellets in convenient spaces. The type is very common, taken as a whole. (Plate, Fig. 16.)

Class *Vh*.—Probably the latest coins resembling Class *Vg* might be grouped together as presenting slightly different characters. In these the central ornament of the crown is formed of three pellets punched in close together so as to slightly resemble a lys. The eyes are thick and coarse and the iron for the nose and mouth is short. In fact Class *Vh* is somewhat of a caricature of Class *Vg* clumsily carried out. (Plate, Fig. 17.)

The previously described classes are probably all that can with certainty be attributed to Henry III. The last coins bearing his name fall into two classes which have been referred to and discussed already by Messrs. Fox in their paper on Edward I. They are, however, long-cross coins bearing Henry's name and therefore complete the long-cross series.

Class VI.—The first of these two classes is of very coarse and careless work, and in this particular resembles the coarse coins of Class *Vh*. The curls, however, are now realistic, the whole bust is small and round. The lettering presents one new variety in the shape of a round **n** in place of the Roman square letter. This is to be seen on one of the two coins which constitute the whole class. We have one coin struck at Durham and one struck at St. Edmundsbury. (Plate, Fig. 18.)

Class VII.—The last type of the long-cross coins, that certainly struck in the reign of Edward I., gives us an entirely new bust with hair and crown of an Edwardian type. The letter irons are new. The English **n** appears on some and the Lombardic letter¹ often takes the place of the Roman **v**. The **H** and **R** in the king's name are now no longer joined, but generally we find the **a** and the **N** ligulated. Coins of this type were issued at London and St. Edmundsbury. (Plate, Fig. 19.)

¹ See the reverse legend of *Hawkins*, Fig. 288.

Having described the types at considerable length some evidence must be given as to the sequence in which they were issued.

The older writers on the subject, chiefly three, Hawkins, Sainthill, and Sir John Evans, all classified the coins bearing the sceptre as having been issued before those on which it was absent. Even so late as 1869, when Sir John Evans very briefly described the Tower Hill hoard, this was the classification in vogue. The coins themselves, however, clearly point out their order of issue, more particularly when attention is directed to the late type with its realistic Edwardian hair as compared with the bearded bust of the early type on the **HENRICVS REX** coin. This latter coin shows by its size, its beard of lines, not pellets, and its legend a close connection with the last type of the short-cross coins. The series then, as we now know it, is exactly reversed from that as arranged by earlier writers. That we are correct in this reversal documentary evidence in abundance will prove.

A. The appendix to John of Oxenedes' chronicle.

B. The same document transcribed in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*.

These both deal with the preparations made for the new (long-cross) coinage. They give the names of all the officers of the provincial mints, including those of the moneyers. These provincial mints, with a few rare exceptions, only issued non-sceptre coins, and as the order for their coinage was given in 1248, obviously the non-sceptre varieties preceded those bearing the sceptre. Now of these sceptreless coins the obvious class to place first is that bearing the closest resemblance to the short-cross coinage. This is to be found in Class I*. Mules connect Class I* with Class I, the **REX ANG** coins, and the bust on this class and the varieties bearing a moneyer's name on the reverse instead of the continuation of the obverse legend, bring us to the **TERCI** coins. The continuance of the **TERCI** bust on coins reading **REX III** shows the correctness of the sequence I, II, III. The varieties of Class III lead insensibly but surely to the first coins with a sceptre, which only differ from them in the presence of this adjunct, the lettering

and bust being precisely similar to Class III. The same relationship is again exhibited between the sceptre-star class and that early sceptre class, where the legend has been altered in position and the mint-mark removed, Class *Va*. *Vb*, continues the sequence and Class *Vc* is the first type to exhibit oval eyes. The crescents of IV and *Va* are still in evidence and the high form of the crown is retained. These are the last coins to exhibit these characteristics, and they vouch for the correct placing of *Vb* after *Va* and *Vc* after *Vb*.

Class *Vd*, with its new bust and new crown, although quite dissimilar in character from other long-cross coins, is so extraordinarily muled with Class *Vc* that its place in the series cannot be denied it. These mules and varieties will be discussed in their proper places under the mints, and the evidence to be shown there is quite indisputable.

Class *Ve*, with its pearly crown, again, is so mixed up with both the coins of Class *Vc* and Class *Vd* that a most intimate connection must have existed between them. I am inclined to think that these two crown irons, the new crown of *Vd* and the jewelled crown, were used more or less indiscriminately. All the jewelled-crown coins bear the same moneyers' names as those found on coins with the new crown. As before stated, some of these jewelled crowns are found on the old busts of Class *Vc*.

The coins of Class *Vf*, with its double crown, present but little resemblance to the two classes immediately preceding them, in the same way that these latter did not in the least resemble their predecessors. On the other hand, except for the double crown, the class is a counterpart of Class *Vg*. Here again the moneyers leave the question in no unsettled way, as will be seen later.

The last common type struck by many moneyers, Class *Vg*, follows accurately on the double-crown coins. It bears the same lettering, the same form of crown, though not doubled, and the precise arrangement of the ornamenting pellets. The relationship of these coins of Class *Vg*, to those which followed them, is a matter of more difficulty, as the closing issues of Henry's reign seem to have been struck by fewer moneyers, and finds have not revealed them to us in any quantity.

Messrs. Fox have described the two very late types of these coins, one certainly and one probably issued in the reign of Edward I. I refer to the last type and to the slightly earlier type, of which only two coins are known. Between this type and the coins of Class Vg, a certain number of rough-looking pieces with Vg characters may be placed. The crown on these, which is low, has three pellets closely placed together superseding the lys of Class Vg. The work is coarse and the moneyers who struck the coins are known to be of late date.

MINTS.

There is, as before referred to, in the appendix of John of Oxenedes' chronicle a complete list of the provincial mints and their moneyers as ordered in 1247.

The mints are Bristol, Carlisle, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Ilchester, Lincoln, Newcastle, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Wallingford, Wilton, Winchester, and York. It will be observed that Canterbury, Durham, London, and St. Edmundsbury are not mentioned in the list given in the chronicle, and they are not considered in this paper as provincial mints. Each mint in the list is credited with four *monetarii*, four *custodes*, two *assaiatores*, and one *clericus*. The names of all these officers are given and will be referred to in the list of coins struck in each mint. It may be stated here that there are coins extant of all the moneyers whose names are in the chronicle, and in the cases of Bristol, Lincoln and York, of one other in each mint. The unmentioned York moneyer was for the Archbishop. Those of Bristol and Lincoln probably took the place of two who had dropped out or died.

It will be shown that the provincial mints started work one year later than those of London, Canterbury, and St. Edmundsbury: some of them, however, commenced a little earlier than others, because of Bristol, Carlisle, Hereford, Ilchester, Newcastle, Shrewsbury, Wallingford, and Wilton there are no known "Rex Terce" coins, the earliest variety issued by provincial mints. The remaining mints, Exeter, Gloucester, Lincoln, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Winchester, and

York, issued both varieties of the non-sceptred coins. In the case of these mints "Rex Terci" coins are known of all the moneyers issuing the coins of the "Rex III" type. Examples of all these pieces are in the possession of Mr. Baldwin.

These mints were at work for a comparatively short time, as is shown by the existence of coins of only four moneyers each, and by the fact that with certain rare exceptions, viz., Gloucester, Wilton, and York, of which Mr. Baldwin has sceptred coins, and possibly Lincoln and Oxford, only non-sceptre coins were issued. Messrs. Fox have documentary evidence concerning the time of the closure of these mints which points to the year 1250.

The minor varieties of each mint will be found in the lists under the mint names.

The four remaining mints, viz., London, Canterbury, St. Edmundsbury, and Durham, require more extended notice. As before, in the short-cross times, and later in Edward I.'s time, as shown by Messrs. Fox, these four supplied the bulk of the coinage of the country. London took the largest share, then Canterbury, falling not far short of London in its output and importance, and then St. Edmundsbury with a much smaller issue. The coins of Durham are few and limited to those bearing the sceptre.

LONDON.

There is so much to be learned from the moneyers and their dates of appointment, that a few words about them in general may not be amiss. Whatever their position in earlier times as the actual strikers of the coins may have been, they certainly were not artificers in the thirteenth century. The names and callings of some of them are of frequent mention in many of the rolls, and from these records it is clear that beyond the placing of their names on the coins, thus entailing responsibility on their part for the purity and correct weight of the pieces, they could have had but little to do with the actual mintage. William, the king's tailor, is recorded as a moneyer in the last class of the short-cross coinage. His coin is signed Willem Ta, possibly to distinguish him from another William who may have been the issuer of a coin

bearing the name of William only, and who was a moneyer at the same mint (Canterbury) at the same time. William de Gloucestre, the king's goldsmith and clearly an important person, was granted dies both in London and Canterbury about the year 1256, according to the Patent Roll. His name is mentioned frequently, and the coins bearing his name will be considered presently in detail. Thomas de Weseham was the king's surgeon who had the grant of a die in London in 1260. His coin is now in Mr. Baldwin's possession. Other moneyers are described as king's clerks. Here are two extracts from the Calendars of the Patent Rolls referring to the subject :—

1243, July 8th, Bordeaux :—

To the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle. The king has written to them several times for Robert de Cantuaria, the younger, for them to provide for him in an ecclesiastical benefice of the value of 60 marks a year in the diocese of Canterbury and is astonished they have not done so.

1257, January 27th, Windsor :—

Grant for life to Robert de Cantuaria, king's clerk, son of Robert de Cantuaria, some time king's clerk of one of the king's dies in the mint of Canterbury.

He died or disappeared the same year, as on October 1st his die was granted to William de Gloucestre. Evidently this Robert was in the Church in some position.

Other instances of the moneyers' positions could be multiplied, but enough has here been stated to prove that they were not mere workmen.

The names which figure on the London coins are : Davi, Henri, Ion, Nicole, Philip, Renaud, Ricard, Robert, Thomas, Walter, and Willem. These men were not all in office at the same time, and consequently all their names do not figure on all the types of coins issued from the London mint. As regards these types, London issued probably all of them, although the first type with realistic hair, Class VI, is not yet forthcoming. The earliest type, Class I*, that without the mint name, must also have emanated from London.

Nicholas de Sancto Albano, the Nicole of the coins, was the first officer, as his is the only name which appears on coins with the "Rex Ang" obverse. He was appointed before 1248 and he was probably the Nichole whose name appears on some very peculiar short-cross coins issued from both the London and Canterbury mints. The Rolls tell us that he was connected with both mints in those times.

He strikes in London types I, I-II (mule), II, III, IV, *Va*, *Vb*, and *Vc*, and ceases with the coins bearing the high crown and oval-eyes. His die was taken by William de Gloucestre, 1255 (? 6).

Henry Frowik, Henri on the coins, became a moneyer in 1248. He had the grant of a die for life in 1256. His types run from III to *Vg* with the exception of the pearly-crown class, *Ve*. The absence of this is probably due to the accident of non-discovery.

David of Enefeld, Davi on the coins, was sworn as a moneyer in 1250, and got his life grant in 1256. The earliest coins we have bearing his name are late varieties of Class III and all types inclusive of *Vf*, the double crown. His die was granted to Thomas de Weseham in 1260.

Richard Bonaventure, Ricard on the coins. His dates are the same as David of Enefeld's, and he, too, starts with coins of the late varieties of Class III and goes on into the low crown, *Vg*, with all intermediate varieties.

William de Gloucestre, Willem on the coins, received grants of dies both in London and Canterbury in 1255 (? 6); the former in place of the die of Nicholas of St. Albans, then dead. His first type was *Vc*, the early sceptred coins with oval eyes. All the later types and varieties are known with his name, including class *Vg*. There was an earlier William, whose name has not been identified, and who struck a blundered "Terci" coin and an early coin without the sceptre, also an unsatisfactory coin.

John Hardel, Ion or Iohs on the coins, received his life grant in 1256. His earliest coin is of type *Vc*, and his latest of type *Vg*.

Walter de Brussel, Walter on the coins, received his die for life at the same time as John Hardel, and struck in the same types, *Vc* to *Vg*.

Thomas de Weseham, Thomas on the coins, the king's surgeon, was appointed to the die formerly held by David of Enefeld on May

27th, 1260. His name appears on Class Vg only. Mr. Baldwin has his coin.

Robert, unidentified except for his name on two coins of Class Vg, one in the possession of Colonel Morrieson and the other in my collection.

Reginald de Cantuaria, Renaud on the coins. No particulars are known of him except that Philip de Cambio was sworn in in his place, in 1278. His types are Vg, and the coarse varieties of it, V½, also the last type, VII. Mr. Baldwin has one of these late coins (not from the Brussels find), I have another.

Philip de Cambio, Philip on the coins, appointed in 1278. He struck one type only, the Edwardian, Class VII.

The London coins require but little notice. The mint name is abbreviated according to the length of the moneyer's name. Thus we find **LVN**, **LVND**, **LVNDE**, and **LVNDEH**. Some of the "Rex Ang" coins read **LON**.

CANTERBURY.

The names found on Canterbury coins are Alein, Ambroci, Gilbert, Ion, Nicole, Ricard, Robert, Walter, and Willem.

All the types except the first, which it will be borne in mind bears no mint name, and the last two, attributed to Edward I., were issued at Canterbury, and agree precisely with the corresponding London types. The two mints were under one management. There were eight dies, of which five were royal and three archiepiscopal. There was no archiepiscopal mark placed on the coins, and the archbishop simply received as his share the profits of the three dies.

Nicholas de Hadlon or Nicholas de Sancto Albano, Nicole of the coins, appointed probably in 1247. His types are I to Vg, and the coarse variety of the last, V½. It is possible that here we may have had two moneyers striking consecutively, Nicholas of St. Albans, down to his death in 1256, type Vc, and Nicholas de Hadlon the remainder. The second Nicholas got his life grant on January 10th, 1256.

William Cockayne, Willem on the coins, sworn moneyer in 1250, was probably at work before as his name appears on "Rex Terce" coins.

All types, except the Edwardian, appear with this name. There were two Williams appointed to dies in Canterbury. The second was William de Gloucestre, the king's goldsmith, who took the die of Robert de Cantuaria, the younger, in 1257. William de Gloucestre was murdered in 1262. It is impossible to distinguish the coins of these two Williams during the times that they could have been working together.

Gilbert de Bonninton, Gilbert on the coins, sworn as archbishop's moneyer in 1248. His types extend from the "Rex Terce" coins, II, to *Vg*. Apparently there is no coin of his known with a pearly crown, *Ve*.

John Terri, Ion, Iohs, Iohanes on the coins, sworn in 1250 with William Cockayne. His types run from III to *Vg*, again excepting the pearly crown, *Ve*.

(1) Robert de Cantuaria, (2) Robert de Cantuaria son of Robert de Cantuaria, (3) Robert de Cambio, (4) Robert Wylof, (5) Robert Weterlok. Such are five names given in various rolls. It is possible that the last two names refer to the same men, mentioned as of Canterbury or of the mint (*cambio*). Robert of Canterbury, the elder, got his life grant in 1255, April 29th. His son, Robert the younger, in 1257, and Robert de Cambio 1255, November 14th. The only name on the coins is Robert, and the types run from *Vc* to *Vg* exclusive of the pearly crown, *Ve*. William de Gloucestre took the die of Robert the younger on October 1st, 1257, so that the latter only owned the die for eight months. There is nothing apparent on the coins to distinguish one Robert from another.

Walter Adrian, Walter on the coins. All types from *Vc* to *Vg* and the coarse coins of *Vh*.

Alein, not identified, types *Vg* and the coarse *Vh*.

Ambroci, not identified, type *Vg*.

Richard l'Espece, archbishop's moneyer, appointed in 1268, probably in place of Gilbert. His type is *Vh* of the coarse variety, with three little pellets in place of the fleur-de-lys in the centre of the crown.

The coins issued at Canterbury spell the mint name **CAH, CAHT, CAHTA, CAHTA** as will be seen from the lists, but there is another series on which the name **KAH** appears, which is of so much

importance, and has been such a help in the classification, that it must be treated at some length. Sainthill read the mint as **RJM** and attributed it to Ramsay. **RJM** was then suggested and the reference was to Northampton, finally the correct reading **RJH** was identified. Sainthill recorded three moneyers, Nichole, Walter, and Willem, but since then two more moneyers have been found, John and Robert, both from Mr. Baldwin's Brussels find.

These are all names found on ordinary Canterbury coins, but the coins themselves are such unusual-looking pieces that for a long time the suggestion was that they were of foreign origin; they belong, as true coins, not mules, to Class *Vd*, but they seemed to resist classification. Then more coins from the hoard revealed the fact that some of these **RJH** coins had normal obverses of type *Vc*, the ordinary early sceptre pieces with oval eyes, so that the idea of foreign origin had also to be abandoned. Finally, I was fortunate enough to find two coins, both by Willem, one reading **RJH** and one reading **QJNT**, and both struck from the same obverse die. The question, numismatically, was thus settled and **RJH** is now a recognized reading for Canterbury.

Lately, another piece of good fortune disclosed the following extract in the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* :—

“Feb. 19, 1226, Mandatum est Priori Sancti Augustini Kantuarie,” and a few lines later on in the same entry, “Sancti Augustini Cantuarie.”

So that now we have documentary evidence as well.

A further comparison of the coins bearing this crown, disclosed the fact that the crown on all of them, or, at least, those that I have examined, is made from a single iron, and that the same iron was used to punch the crown into all the dies, whether of London, Canterbury, or St. Edmundsbury, the coins of which latter place will be discussed under its mint. So that we now know also that all the dies of type *Vd* for the three mints were made in London. To revert to the Canterbury coins, the true reverse belonging to the obverse of type *Vd* reads **RJH**. The formation of the letters of the legend corresponds with the

obverse lettering, and this is the only guide we can follow. The mules are thus easily separated :—

Nicole.— <i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .
<i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .
Willem.— <i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .
<i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .
Gilbert.— <i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .
Ioh.— <i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .
<i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .
Robert.— <i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .
<i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .
Walter.— <i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .
<i>Obverse</i> .— <i>Vc</i> .	<i>Reverse</i> .— <i>Vd</i> .

It will be noticed that Gilbert, the archbishop's moneyer, struck no coins reading **RSH**, or rather that we know of no example. Robert also, so far as we know, did not strike a true coin, though both obverse and reverse of the true coin are known as mules. All the other four moneyers struck true coins and coins muled both ways. This is quite sufficient evidence for placing type *Vd* next after type *Vc*, but the question is not simplified by the presence of the pearly crown, *Vc*. One example of this coin, in Mr. Baldwin's find, is by Nicole, and the bust is of type *Vc*, while the crown is of the pearly order. The simplest way of leaving the question for the present is to consider the crown with the row of pearls as a variety of the crown on type *Vd* and possibly interchangeable with it and type *Vc*. All the moneyers in the pearled class, whether of London or Canterbury, also struck in type *Vd*.

ST. EDMUNDSBURY.

The mint of St. Edmundsbury, the third largest in the supply of coins during long-cross times, is perhaps the most capable of furnishing evidence of the sequence and dates of the various types.

It was an ecclesiastical mint under the rule of the abbot. There was only one moneyer at a time, and the regulation was that only one

M 2

die was supplied at a time, and that the old die had to be returned before a new die could be obtained. It follows, therefore, that all the dies are in sequence if we could only find a means of placing them correctly. This can to some extent be accomplished where the types help the consideration, but where one moneyer had been long in office, and there were several dies of the same type of this moneyer, it is difficult to decide which individual die precedes or succeeds its fellow.

The mint opens with type I in 1247.

Obverse.—**HENRICVS REX ANGLIE/TER/CIV/ITAD**, two coins of which type, from the Brussels hoard in Mr. Baldwin's ownership, are the only examples now known. The type is referred to in *Ruding* and *Hawkins*, but the ownership of the coin there described is unknown.

MONEYERS.

John, Ion on the coins, appointed sometime before 1248. (There was a John striking at St. Edmundsbury in late short-cross times.) His name first appears on "Rex Terci" coins, type II. He struck in III and in all varieties of IV and Va.

Randulf le Blund, Randulf on the coins, appointed in 1252. He continues the sequence in Vb, Vc, Vd, and Vf. The coin of type Vd will be described in detail.

Reginald FitzHenry, Renaud on the coins, appointed in 1258. His type is Vg, with the low crown with a fringe of pellets.

Stephen, surname and date unknown, type Vg.

John de Burnedissee, Ion or Iohs on the coins, type Vg, and the coarse variety, Vh, the variety with realistic hair and English n's, VI, given to Edward I., and, finally, the coin Class VII, certainly of Edward I.'s time.

Joceus, the goldsmith, Ioce on the coins. He took John's place in 1278 and his single type is precisely like that of his predecessor, Class VII.

It will be noticed that all the types of the mint of St. Edmundsbury bear the closest resemblance to those of London and Canterbury.

The mint name is variously given as **S'EDMVND**, **SA**, **S'ED**, **S'EDM**, **SENTED**, **SEINTED**, and lastly as **BERI**.

The coin bearing this last name is of type *Vd*, precisely like the London coins, and the Canterbury coins reading **RNA**. The reverse reading is **RAND ON BERI**. The coin has the crown from the same iron as the London and Canterbury coins. It is, therefore, an official English coin. From the dates previously given of the various moneyers, the issue of the type can be shown to be before 1258. The moneyer at St. Edmundsbury at that time was Randulf. One other Randulf struck coins in the long-cross series, viz., Randulfus Fardein at Ilchester. His coins were before 1252 and were without the sceptre. The name **BERI** can, therefore, have no relation to Ilchester. It can also have no relation to London, Canterbury, or Durham, the only regular mints to strike coins with the sceptre. Mr. Carlyon-Britton at one time brought forward reasons for suggesting an issue at Berkeley, and I once thought the coin might refer to Berwick. Berwick, however, was Scottish at the time and is therefore out of the question. The obvious suggestion held out by the coin itself is that it ought to belong to one of the four mints working sceptre coins, and as three are inadmissible it should belong to St. Edmundsbury. The type would fit here and the moneyer Randulf is of the correct date for the issue. I therefore took some trouble to find out at what date prior to Henry III.'s time the name Bury was used by itself without any addition of the prefix St. Edmund. I noted a chronicle connected with the Abbey and called the *Cronica Buriensis*. The date of the giving of the title I could not find although the chronicle refers to history so far back as the eleventh century. It was then suggested that I should communicate with the Rev. James Davidson of Bristol, whose name was given to me as an authority on place-names. In answer to my letter, Mr. Davidson writes "in Anglo-Saxon documents it is written Buri and Beri," and gives me other readings. I therefore turned to Kemble's codex where in vol. iv, document 960, I found the will of one Thurketil, a testator of Norfolk. The document is in Anglo-Saxon, and from it I learned that then even the place was known and described as Byri and Biry.

During the actual period of Henry III.'s reign I have not yet come

across a reference to St. Edmundsbury as Bury although Mr. Davidson gives me Buryu. Later by some years Richard de Bury became Bishop of Durham in 1331. He was an ecclesiastic of Bury St. Edmunds, so that both before and after the time of our long-cross coins the place was known simply as Bury. The attribution, therefore, of these coins reading **BURI** to Bury St. Edmunds would seem to be without objection. They fill in the one missing type of the St. Edmundsbury mint, and they compare in their unusual spelling with the equally unusual spelling of the mint-name of Canterbury as **KAH**.

It is perhaps fair to state that Mr. Baldwin came to the same conclusion, independently of myself, solely on numismatic grounds.

DURHAM.

No early coins of this series are known of Durham, and Messrs. Fox have shown good reason for this. Coinage commenced about 1253 with Classes *Va* and *Vb* bearing the name Ricard, whose date of appointment is unknown. Another moneyer, Roger, struck in Class *Vg*. His coins were discovered in the Brussels hoard. One coin with the name Roberd, of the late type VI, is in my ownership.

DATES OF THE TYPES.

The first type was ordered in 1247, The second is also to be placed to the same year as it was before the issue of the provincial coins. The "Rex terci" coins were the earliest issued from provincial mints and their coinage commenced in 1248. They may have been issued shortly before in the three chief mints, as there are mules of this and the "Rex Ang" coins.

The regular series of non-sceptred coins reading "Rex III." can be placed between the years 1248 and 1250. The later varieties of this type were first made in this latter year, as three out of the four moneyers striking them at London and Canterbury were only elected in 1250, and of the other moneyer, William of Canterbury, we have no data as to his appointment.

The next coins, those bearing the sceptre and star, must have been struck before Easter, 1251, the date of Randulf le Blund's appointment at St. Edmundsbury, as they bear the name of his predecessor Ion. Incidentally they give us the year before which the non-sceptred coins came to an end, and the closure of the provincial mints issuing these coins only. Within a very short time, hardly extending to months, the first type of the ordinary sceptre coins must have made its appearance, to be as quickly followed by the second variety, the last of the round-eyed coins. This type must have been in issue for some years.

The first coins with oval eyes were all issued by moneyers, most of whom received grants of dies on farm not earlier than January, 1255, or later than Easter, 1256, and several of these were new appointments.

This as a substantive type could have been in use for a short time only, as we find coins muled both ways by many of the moneyers between this and the next type with the new crown. The coins with the pearly crown were probably in use at the same time, but their characteristics do not help us to a more accurate dating. Nicolas de Sancto Albano, who died before May, 1255, had not time to issue either of these later coins, though William de Gloucestre, his successor, issued both.

Something of an approximate date can be given to the double-banded crown type. It was the last type of David of Enefeld, who was succeeded by Thomas de Weseham in May, 1260, and also of Randulf le Blund, of St. Edmundsbury, who disappeared not later than 1258 and possibly earlier than this.

The latter date, that of Renaud of St. Edmundsbury, may help us to fix the earlier limit of the first low-crowned and common sceptre type which was used by twenty moneyers. The duration of the type was evidently long, though we do not find many marked variations in it. Those which were considered rather later, on account of the coarser style of work, have been noted of four moneyers only, viz., Renaud of London, Nicole, Alein, and Ricard of Canterbury. The only date that can help us here is that of Ricard, who was appointed moneyer for the Archbishop in 1267. A still further degree of coarseness is to be found on some of Renaud's coins, and on one issued by

John de Burnedis, who was appointed to St. Edmundsbury in 1265, January 29th.

The two types attributed to Edward I. by Messrs. Fox have been already dated, the first approximately to 1274, and the second certainly to 1278. It was then that Philip de Cambio took Renaud's die and that Jocus, the goldsmith, received his appointment.

FINDS.

The material hoards of long-cross coins which have been discovered and described are few in number.

One was found in Bantry, Ireland, in 1834, and is described in Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*, vol. i.

The listed coins were 702 in number, consisting of English, Irish, and Scottish coins.

The English pennies were all of the long-cross series. The Irish coins were of the same time and were of the Irish long-cross types, and the Scottish were described as of William the Lion (1) and Alexander (10).

The English coins were of all the mints except Durham and Wallingford. The early types without the sceptre were present as well as many sceptred types. Sainthill gives a sceptre to Adam of Oxford and William of Lincoln. Unfortunately many readings are inaccurate and are therefore valueless.

All the London moneyers were present except Thomas, Robert, Renaud, and Philip. At Canterbury Sainthill fails to record Alein, Ambroci, and Ricard. Ion and Randulf are the only two described as of St. Edmundsbury. Coins reading **RJH** were present though misread **RJH** or **RJM**. Many provincial moneyers' names are absent. The hoard would appear to have been deposited not later than 1267, as there were no coins of Richard of Canterbury. If the Ion of St. Edmundsbury was the earlier John, and his coins without the sceptre were certainly present, then 1258 is the latest date. The absence of common coins of Renaud of London would probably put the date back a little further.

A hoard found in 1869 on Tower Hill and described by the late Sir John Evans in *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. ix.

There were English, Irish and Scottish coins found numbering 215. The Scottish were of Alexander III., the English and Irish of long-cross types.

All the mints were present except Gloucester, Ilchester, Newcastle, and Wallingford. All the early types except the first were present, and both non-sceptred and sceptred types are described. Thomas, Robert, and Philip are missing from the list of London moneyers but Renaud is present. Richard is the only missing moneyer of Canterbury. John and Randulf are the moneyers of St. Edmundsbury. Here, as in the Bantry hoard, the mint of St. Edmundsbury supplies the first information. The John was doubtless the early moneyer, and Randulf had certainly disappeared by 1258. Renaud of London, however, was present and although we do not know his date of appointment, his types probably began about 1258 or a little later, as we have Renaud of St. Edmundsbury appointed in that year. There were no coins of Richard of Canterbury, 1267, nor any of John de Burnedissee of St. Edmundsbury, 1265, so that the hoard cannot have been buried later than 1265 nor earlier than 1258. If the sceptred coins had been more accurately subdivided, some date within narrower limits might have been assigned.

A hoard of long-cross coins found at Palmer's Green, N., May 1st, 1911, and described by Mr. Grueber in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1911.

Mr. Grueber kindly placed his manuscript of this find in my hands for the purposes of the present paper.

There were 217 coins found, consisting of English and Irish long-cross coins and long double-cross coins of Alexander III. of Scotland.

The English portion of the hoard, 208 in number, contained all the types except the last two, those attributed to Edward I. There was one specimen of the rare first type. The majority of the mints were present, those absent being Bristol, Hereford, Ilchester, Wallingford, and Wilton.

Mr. Grueber includes in his list of London moneyers all except Thomas, Robert, and Philip. Similarly, the Canterbury moneyers, except Alein, Ambroci and Richard, all figure in the list. The

moneyers of St. Edmundsbury were John, Randulf, and Stephen. An analysis of these moneyers' names gives almost the same results as regards dates as were afforded by the Tower Hill hoard. Renaud of London is again present and Stephen of St. Edmundsbury appears ; we do not know his date but the absentee, John de Burnedissee, 1265, came after him. Richard of Canterbury, 1267, is again absent, so that a limit between 1258 and 1265 is again possible but not very accurate.

THE BRUSSELS HOARD.

The last hoard to be referred to as containing long-cross coins is that which was found in Brussels some three years ago. The contents of the find consisted of English and Irish long-cross coins of Henry III., Scottish coins of Alexander III., of the long double-cross issues, a large quantity of coins of the Low Countries, both sterlings in imitation of the English coins, and a still larger number of small continental coins, finally many short-cross coins of our English kings which comprised examples of all the types. There were probably 150,000 pieces in all. The hoard was sold in Brussels in October, 1909, and Mr. Baldwin became the owner of some 100,000 specimens. The long-cross coins cover the whole period to and including coins of type Vg, that with the sceptre and low lys-marked crown. Every variety previously known down to this type was in the hoard, and besides them a host of new varieties such as the jewelled crown type, previously quite unknown. All the moneyers, provincial and otherwise, were present. The continental coins dated the hoard to about 1264. The English pieces tell the same story. There were no coins of Richard of Canterbury, date 1267, no coins of John de Burnedissee of St. Edmundsbury, 1265, no late coins of Renaud of London, and of course no coins of the Edwardian Class VII, so that the English coins confirm the correctness of the date as supplied by those of the Continent.

Mr. Baldwin purposes at some future time to publish a complete list of the part of the hoard in his possession, and I think we shall all look forward to studying the results of his labour when the final story

of the coins is completed. His list will tell us that the find easily out-numbers all previously known long-cross coins.

Before leaving the silver coins, some notice must be taken of a coin figured in *Ruding's Supplement*, Part II, Plate II, No. 23. It is a large coin which looks like a magnified penny struck by Robert of Canterbury. It is very crudely drawn, and clearly not at all accurate in detail. The legends, however, are correct even to the ligation. They are—

Obverse.—**HENRICVS REX III.**

Reverse.—**ROBERT/CANT.**

But the lettering is not very reliable for class purposes.

The description in vol. ii does not give either weight or ownership. A reference to vol. i, p. 186, tells us that the coin was "represented in the second of two plates engraved by Mr. North, who intended to write a dissertation on the Coinage of Henry III. but never did so." The picture was copied from Mr. North's plate, the coin and owner being unknown. A further reference is given to *Grafton's Chronicle* sub anno 1249. "The king summoned a parliament at London, in the which it was enacted, that 'a coyne of a certeine weight of silver called a grote should be stamped, and that it should have on the one syde the picture of the kinges face, and on the other a crosse extended in length to the extreme parts thereof, to the entent there should be no deceyt used by diminishing or clipping the same.'" Ruding refers the reader to a similar account given by Grafton in 1227.

Obviously the coin represented cannot have been that suggested by Grafton, as in the year 1249 the coins with the sceptre, of which this is one, were not yet made, moreover the similar entry under the year 1227 could not possibly have referred to the long-cross coinage. The whole subject would have been left to the obscurity with which it is surrounded, were it not for the fact that Mr. Ready had a coin of the same design and size as Ruding's illustration. My remembrance of the coin, when I saw it some years ago, suggested originality. I cannot here state the reverse inscription, but I have some memory of having seen it weighed against two long-cross pence, which it just counter-

balanced. It is therefore just possible that some such coin as a double penny or groat was struck of which there may be two examples. The date, however, assigned by Grafton is probably incorrect. There appears to be no mention of such a piece in any of the official records of the time.

THE GOLD COINAGE.

It would be unscientific in a paper of this sort if no reference were made to the attempt to issue a coinage of gold during these times. The subject has been referred to by some of our older writers.

The first reference to the gold penny of Henry III. is to be found in the 1763 edition of Martin Folkes' *Table of English Silver and Gold Coins*. Snelling in the same year printed an engraving of one of these coins. Ruding in his "Annals of the Coinage," and Kenyon in "The Gold Coins of England," also refer to these pieces, and, lastly, Sir John Evans, in a paper entitled "The First Gold Coins of England" (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, vol. xx), gives considerable information on the gold penny, and figures four coins.

There are, at present, at least six specimens known of the coin. Two are in the British Museum, two others were in Sir John Evans's collection. There was one in the Murdoch collection, and one more is in the cabinet of Colonel Leslie Ellis.

The general type of all the coins is the same, viz.—*Obverse*: the king seated on a chair of state. *Reverse*: a long double cross with a rose set between three pellets in each angle. As most of these pieces differ considerably in treatment it will be necessary to describe them somewhat in detail.

Type I :—

Obverse:—The king, bearded, crowned, and robed seated in a chair of state, holding in his right hand a sceptre and in his left hand an orb surmounted by a cross. The throne has arms and legs formed of lines of pellets. The edge of the seat is surmounted by trellis work above which is a line of annulets, two on each side being visible. The floor on which the king's feet are resting is covered with a tapestry or carpet exhibiting an ornamentation of squares of a diapered pattern. The king's hair and beard are composed of pellets and the

sceptre is lys-headed. The king's crown has a central ornament like that on the silver pence of the early high-crowned sceptre coins. The legend is **hENRIC REX ·I·I·I·**. The R and X closely resemble the corresponding letters on the silver coins before mentioned. There are traces of a dotted outer circle.

Reverse.—The general type before referred to. The legend is **WILL/EM : O/HLV/HDE**. The N's each have a little dash in the middle of the cross bar, also commonly found on the silver coins. There are no ligulated letters. A colon is present after **WILL/EM** and after **LVNDE**. There are traces of an outer dotted circle.

Three coins of this type are known, namely, those of the British Museum, Colonel Leslie Ellis, and the late Sir John Evans.

Type II differs from the preceding in the following particulars:—

Obverse.—The king's head is of a slightly different shape. The crown appears to be surmounted by a low lys, and I am inclined to think it shows a double line as on the double crown type of the silver coins. The seat of the throne shows a difference in ornamentation as does the carpet at the king's feet. The orb is surmounted by a fleur-de-lys?. The legend is **hENRIC' REX : I-I-I'**. There are two pellets after **REX** and between the head of the sceptre and the king's head. The letters are practically the same as on type I.

Reverse.—Legend: **WILL/EM : O/NLVR/DEN**. The first **R** in **LVNDE** is of the round variety and there is a quatrefoil of four pellets after the mint name. The N's miss the little dash on the connecting stroke.

The only coin of this type was Mr. Murdoch's.

Type III.—Very much like type I:—

Obverse.—Slight differences in the ornaments of the throne and carpet.

The legend is **hENRIC' REX : III'**. The **R** is of the round variety.

Reverse: **WILL/EM; ONL/VND**. There is an ornamental flourish after the first **L** in **WILL/EM** and another of a different character after the same letter in **LVND**. The N's have no dash in the central stroke.

One coin from these dies is known, late Sir John Evans.

Type IV. — The differences in this type are more marked. The king's hair is realistic instead of being composed of pellets. The throne has the arms and legs composed of lines instead of pellets. The front of the seat is not so much ornamented and the pattern on the carpet again differs. Orb and sceptre are very like the same insignia on type I, but the cross on the orb is shorter. The legend is **HENRIC REX .I.I.I.** The **X** closely resembles that found on the low-crowned sceptre coins in silver. The reverse legend differs only in the shape of the ornament following the **L** of **LVND** on the last type, it is **WIL/LGM/ONL/VND**. The N's are again without the dash.

One coin known, British Museum.

All these coins greatly resemble one another, and it is only by attention to small details that any attempt to classify them has been made. The hair and the letter **X** would suggest placing the coin which bears it last. The other coins then fall into order as bearing some of the characters connecting them in common. The coins of type I would appear to be the earliest.

Now that so many of our rolls and chronicles are published there is no great difficulty in finding chapter and verse for the dating of the issue of the gold currency. A reference to the *Cronica Maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum* give under the year 1257, 41 Henry III., Hoc anno creavit Rex monetam auream denar' ponderis duorum sterlingorum, de auro purissimo et voluit ut ille aureus curreret in pretio viginti sterlingorum. The official close roll for the same year dated at Chester on August 16th, 1257, refers to this coinage and the king's command that it should be current in London and elsewhere in the realm of England, each penny for twenty sterling pennies. The coinage did not meet with approval, and though it does not appear to have been recalled, it was probably largely melted down on account of its high value. Sir John Evans has collected several references to it in his above-mentioned paper.

Thus in November, 1259, seventy-two gold pennies were ordered to be placed in the treasury.

October 25th, 1265, a liberate was addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer authorizing them to pay to William FitzRichard, the keeper

of the Exchange in London, the sum of forty shillings for twenty pennies of the new gold money which he had bought by the king's order.

In 1267 sixty shillings were paid for thirty gold pennies of the new coin, and in 1270 two shillings were paid for one gold penny.

The last entry shows that the gold penny had risen in value from twenty to twenty-four pence.

Now what do the coins themselves tell us? There are three, if not four, variations of type, which fact shows that they could not well have been issued at once. There is, however, only one moneyer's name on the coins, Willem. This was doubtless William de Gloucestre, the king's goldsmith. He is the only William of whom we have any records. He received his grant of a die in 1255 in place of Nicholas de Sancto Albano, and he was murdered in Southampton in 1262, but the order for the gold coinage was only given in 1257. So that we can fix the years 1257 and 1262 as the limits of its issue. Although a record exists mentioning the coins in 1270, these were probably some of those last struck by William de Gloucestre and kept for future use.

Sir John Evans suggested that their purpose, and the object of the king's purchase of them, were for church offerings.

THE LONG-CROSS COINAGE.
TYPES OF THE PROVINCIAL MINTS.

	TARDI. Class II.	TARDI bust. Class IIIa.	Round bust. Class IIIb.	Bust showing neck. Class IIIc.
BRISTOL.				
ELIS		x	x	x
HENRI			x	
EDOB		x	x	x
ROGER			x	x
WALTER			x	x

TYPES OF THE PROVINCIAL MINTS—*continued.*

					TARDI. Class II.	TARDI bust. Class IIIa.	Round bust. Class IIIb.	Bust showing neck. Class IIIc.
CARLISLE.								
ADAM	...	...	...	..		x		
ION	...	...	...	...			x	
ROBERT	...	...	...	...		x	x	?
WILLIAM	...	...	...	...		x	x	
EXETER.								
ION	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x
PHILIP	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x
ROBERT	...	...	...	...	x		x	x
WALTER	...	...	...	...	x		x	
GLOUCESTER.								
LUCAS	...	...	...	...	x		x	x
ION	...	...	...	...	x	x		x
RICHARD	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x
ROGER	...	...	...	...	x		x	x
HEREFORD.								
HENRI	...	...	...	...		x	x	
RICHARD	...	...	...	...		x	x	x
ROGER	...	...	...	...		x	x	x
WALTER	...	...	...	...		x	x	x
ILCHESTER.								
HUGO	...	...	...	...			x	x
RANDVLF	...	...	...	...			x	x
STEPH	...	...	...	...			x	x
IERVVIS	...	...	...	...			x	x

TYPES OF THE PROVINCIAL MINTS—*continued.*

	TARDI Class II.	TARDI bust. Class IIIa.	Round bust. Class IIIb.	Bust. showing neck. Class IIIc.
LINCOLN.				
ION	x		x	x
RICHARD	x		x	x
WALTER	x	x	x	x
WILLELM	x	x	x	x
NEWCASTLE.				
ADAM			x	x
HENRI		x		x
ION		x	x	x
ROGER			x	x
NORTHAMPTON.				
LVGAR	x		x	x
PHILIP	x	x	x	x
TOMAS	x	x	x	x
WILLELM	x	x	x	x
NORWICH.				
HVG	x	x	x	?
IAOB	x	x	x	?
ION	x	x	x	x
WILLELM	x		x	x
OXFORD.				
ADAM	x	x	x	x
GEFRAI	x		x	x
HENRI	x	x		x
WILLELM	x		x	x

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TYPES OF THE PROVINCIAL MINTS—*continued.*

	TARDI Class II.	TARDI bust. Class IIIa.	Round bust. Class IIIb.	Bust showing neck. Class IIIc.
SHREWSBURY.				
LORANS			x	x
NICOLE		x	x	x
PERES		x	x	x
RICHARD			x	x
YORK.				
ALAIN	x	x	x	
IEREMIA	x	x	x	x
ION	x	x	x	x
RENER	x	x	x	x
TOMAS			x	x
WALLINGFORD.				
ALISANDRE			x	x
CLEMENT			x	
RICHARD		x		
ROBERT		x	x	
WINCHESTER.				
IVGE	x		x	x
IVRDAN	x	x	x	x
NICOLE	x	x	x	x
WILLEM	x		x	x
WILTON.				
IVGE			x	x
ION			x	x
WILLEM			x	x

TABLES OF MONEYS AND TYPES OF THE LONG-CROSS COINAGE
London, Canterbury, and the Ecclesiastical Mints.

Moneyers.		I	II	III			IV	V									VI	VII
				a	b	c		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i		
LONDON.		x																
	NICOLA 1255	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x								
1248	HENRI	F	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				
1250	DAVID 1260	F				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
1250	RICHARD	F				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
	WILLIAM	F	*		*					x	x	x	x	x				
	ION or IOHES	F								x	x	x	x	x				
	WALTER	F								x	x	x	x	x				
1260	THOMAS	...													x			
	ROBERT	...													x			
	RENAVD 1278	...													x	x	x	x
1278	PHILIP	...																x
CANTERBURY.		x																
	NICOLA	F	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	†	†	x	x	x	x			
1250	WILLIAM†	F	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	†	†	x	x	x				
1248	GILBERT§	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				
1250	ION or IOHES	F				x	x	x	x	†	†		x	x				
	ROBERT	F								†	†	x	x	x				
	WALTER	...								†	†	x	x	x	x			
	ALAN	...													x	x		
	AMBROSE	...													x			
1267	RICHARD§ 1271	...														x		
ST. EDMUND'S.		x																
	ION	...	x	x	x	x	x	x										
1251	RENDVLF	...							x	x			x					
1258	RENAVD	...													x			
	STEPHANE	...													x			
1265	ION or IOHES	...													x	x	x	x
1278	IOHES	...																x
DURHAM.																		
	RICHARD	...							x	x								
	ROGER	...													x			
	ROBERT	...														x		

F Moneyers marked F received a die on farm in Easter term 1256.

* Coins of doubtful origin.

† Coins reading **DAV** and **RAH**.

‡ Coins of II, IIIa and IIIb must belong to a William of whom we have no record. William Cokyn, sworn in 1250, should begin with IIIc, as did David and Richard of London and John of Canterbury, who were sworn in the same term.

§ Archbishop's moneyer.

|| **REND ON BERI**.

N.B.—A date on the left of a moneyer's name is that of his taking the oaths before the Barons of the Exchequer. A date on the right is that at which he is definitely stated to be dead or superseded.

NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF
EDWARD I., II., AND III.—(*Continued.*)

BY H. B. EARLE FOX AND J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX.

1299 to 1307.

HE close of the thirteenth century thus found the currency in a very unsatisfactory condition, and, as had been the case some thirty years earlier, a vigorous effort was made to put it once more upon a sound basis. An important document preserved in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Appendix lii) informs us that on March the 29th, 1300, the king and his council gave orders for the establishment of exchanges and moneyers at various places in the provinces, but the fact that the pollards and crokards, which it had been found necessary, at Christmas, to retain in circulation as halfpennies, were wholly demonetized at Easter, proves that much must have been done before the latter date.¹

The account running from Michaelmas 1299 to Michaelmas 1300² shows an output of 106,830 pounds Tower in London and of 22,340 pounds Tower at Canterbury—figures unparalleled since the great effort necessitated by the calling in of the long-cross coinage—and a considerable portion of this large sum was doubtless coined during the autumn and winter. The course of events is, indeed, almost exactly the same as it had been in 1279–80:—First, an outcry against the defects of the currency, then consideration of the situation by the king's council, followed by great activity of the London mint and, in a lesser degree, of the mint of Canterbury, and the ecclesiastical mints of Durham and St. Edmunds; and lastly, when the more urgent needs had been met, organization, in the more remote districts, of mints, which, like their predecessors earlier in the reign, remained open only so long as was necessary to meet the unusual demand for coin. In one

¹ See vol. viii, p. 145.

² See vol. viii, p. 138.

important respect the parallel does not hold, for on this occasion there was no demonetization of the coin already in circulation, beyond the withdrawal of the toleration which had been unwillingly accorded to the foreign interlopers.

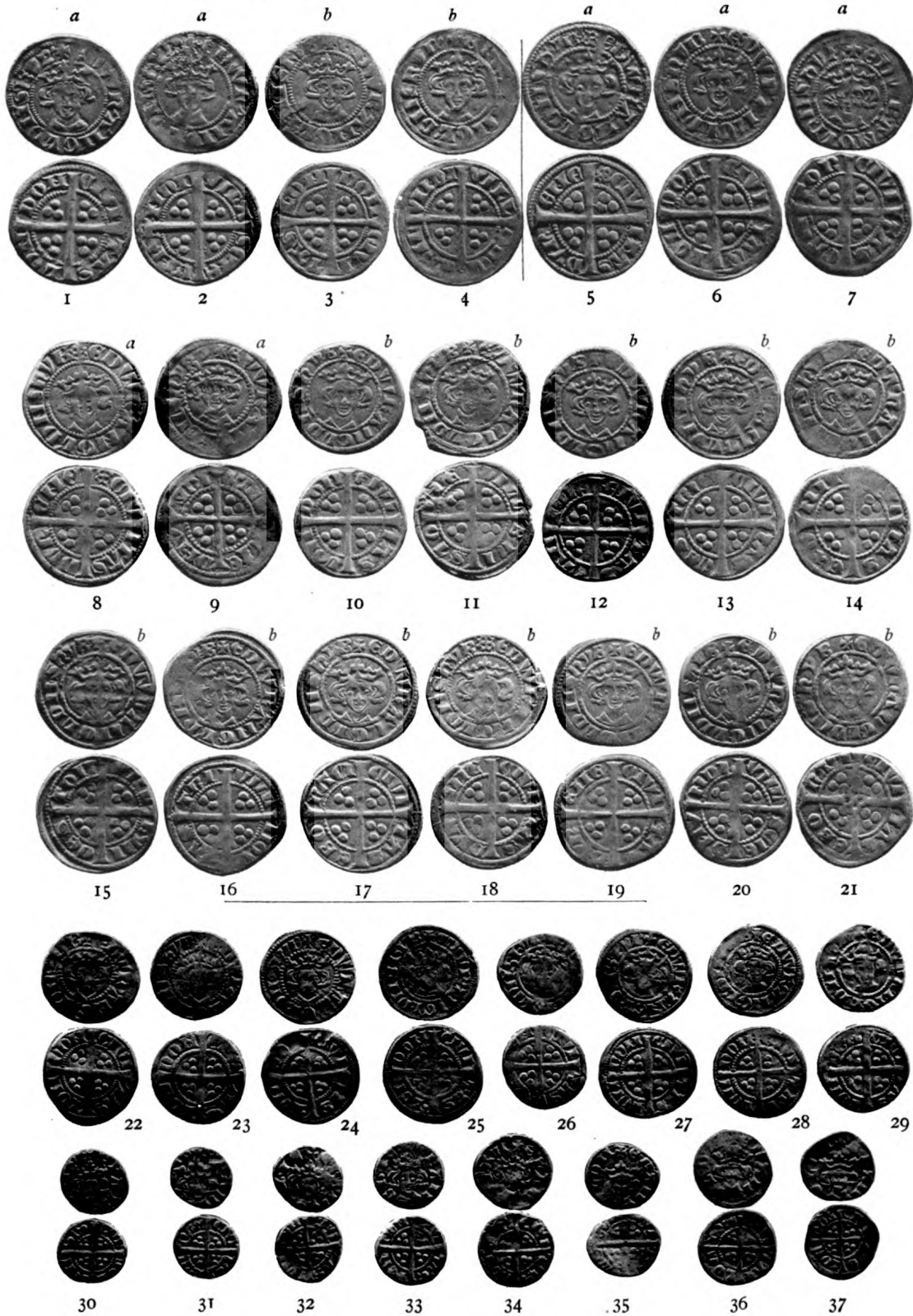
On reference to the key-plate in vol. vii of this Journal it will be seen that two distinct types of group IX are figured (Plate I, 28 and 29), the one fairly large and well spread, the other very small and compact. The former of these, IX*a* (Plate I, 27, Plate VIII, 5-9), is found only of London, Canterbury, Durham, and St. Edmunds, and must therefore have been superseded by IX*b* before the opening of the provincial royal mints in the spring of 1300. It cannot be put earlier than Michaelmas 1299, because Canterbury specimens, though scarce, are not of extreme rarity, and as has been stated already, the only bullion coined at Canterbury between Michaelmas 1293 and that date was 90 pounds in 1294 and 16 pounds in 1296. The transition from group VIII to group IX is not very sharply defined, but all the coins really belonging to IX*a*, with the possible exception of some Durham specimens, have a star on the king's breast. On the earlier examples the initial cross is practically plain, but it gradually develops into a very neat little cross patée, which is retained throughout the group.

To return to the historical evidence. On the 29th day of March, in the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign (1300), orders were given by the king and his council to open exchanges and place moneyers in certain cities and towns, to wit :—

Tower of London	...	30 furnaces.
Canterbury		8 furnaces, as aforetime (<i>i.e.</i> , 5 for the king and 3 for the archbishop).
Kingston-on-Hull	...	4 furnaces.
Newcastle-on-Tyne	...	2 furnaces.
Bristol		4 furnaces.
Exeter		2 furnaces.
Chester		(this mint is added in a post- scriptum, and the number of furnaces is not given.)

Group VIII.

Group IX.



PHOTOPHANE CO. S. E.

COINS OF EDWARD I. CIRC., 1294-1302.

PLATE VIII.

The mints at Bristol and Chester were under the direct control of John de Sandale, keeper of the king's exchanges, but those of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Kingston-on-Hull (with which was associated York), and Exeter, were worked through the Florentine merchants of the Friscobaldi Company, who had to account to the said John de Sandale.

From the accounts rendered by John de Sandale, and preserved in the Pipe Roll (the introductory clause of which is printed as Appendix liij), we obtain the following table :—

Mint.	Duration of Account.	Amount coined (pounds Tower, omitting frac- tions).
Bristol	May 8th, 1300—Oct. 31st, 1300 ...	12,479
Chester	July 12th, 1300—Nov. 16th, 1300 ...	1,405
Exeter	June 12th, 1300—Dec. 31st, 1300	3,757
Kingston-on-Hull and York	April 27th, 1300—Dec. 31st, 1300	17,316
	June 1st, 1300—Sept. 29th, 1300 ...	5,368
Newcastle-on-Tyne ¹	Sept. 30th, 1300—Sept. 29th, 1301	11,877
	Sept. 30th, 1301—Sept. 29th, 1302	2,930

The grant of dies to the Archbishop of York is dated June the 28th, 1300 (Appendix lv). The opening of a royal mint at Kingston-on-Hull had caused the archbishop alarm lest the ancient rights of his see should be infringed, and in a most interesting letter to Thomas de Abberbury, Canon of York, dated May the 25th, 1300 (Appendix liv), he recalls that his predecessor, Archbishop William, duly received a grant of dies at the last *excambium* (the great recoinage of 1280), adding that he is writing to his friend, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, urging him to use his influence in defence of the privileges of the see. An important feature of this letter is the

¹ For purposes of convenience the whole of the Newcastle account is given here although, as will be shown later, it includes coins of group X.

implication that the archiepiscopal mint was not permanently open at this period, for it is evident that it had not been working since the time of Archbishop William and, as has been shown in the course of this paper, there is no trace of any coins emanating from it between 1281 and 1300. We have no evidence as to the exact date at which the royal mint at York was re-opened. It is not mentioned in the *Red Book Memorandum*, and had it been working when the archbishop wrote his letter, he would certainly have made reference to it. That it was reopened is proved both by the existence of coins and by the accounts of John de Sandale, in which its output is lumped with that of Kingston-on-Hull.

The coins of group IX are easily distinguishable from all others of Edward I. (except a few of the latest of group VIII) by their well-marked style, and, within the group, as has been explained above, *a* and *b* are notably differentiated by the smaller size of the latter. The provincial mints, with the exception of Newcastle-on-Tyne, were all closed by the end of the year 1300, and there can therefore be no doubt about the date of the coins struck at them. The London mint supplies no important varieties which do not occur in the provinces, and we have therefore not thought it necessary—this work being intended to be a history, not a corpus—to record all the known variations. The most conspicuous of these is the presence or absence of a star (very rarely replaced by a pellet) on the king's breast. Varying forms of the letter N occur. Sometimes the normal Roman letter, occasionally unbarred, is found. On other specimens the N is formed of two "pothooks" and has almost the appearance of a script letter. There seems to be no co-relation between the presence of the star and the form of N, and the different varieties are probably concurrent rather than successive. Some Chester dies have the blunder **SESTRIG** for **ÆSTRIG**. Of the several provincial mints reopened for the purposes of this issue, one only, that of Newcastle-on-Tyne, struck coins of types later than those of group IX. The following coins of IX*b* are figured on Plate VIII: London, 10; Bristol, 11; Canterbury, 12; Chester, 13; Exeter, 14; Kingston-on-Hull, 15; Newcastle, 16; York (royal), 17; Durham, 18 and 19; St. Edmunds, 20; York (archiepiscopal), 21.

HALFPENNIES AND FARTHING.

On Plate VIII are figured eight halfpennies and a like number of farthings—all we have been able to gather together for groups IV—IX. The list is probably far from complete, in spite of the assistance of many of the leading collectors of the day, but most of the groups are represented. The classification of these little coins presents some difficulties, for differences of style and lettering are not always conspicuous on so small a scale, and fine specimens are rather difficult to obtain. Yet we cannot afford to neglect them, for the fractions of the penny were not issued in the same regular way as the penny itself, and, in consequence, with the help of the mint accounts, the comparative abundance or scarcity of the various types supplies valuable hints on their chronological sequence.

On reference to the table of issues published in vol. viii (p. 138), it will be seen that no small coins were struck between Michaelmas 1281 and May 1285. From the latter date onward to the close of 1301 they were coined in most years, but in the case of the halfpennies the issues were less frequent and smaller in amount than in that of the farthings.

The halfpennies and farthings cannot be sub-divided with the same precision as the pennies, but there are a few which can be placed with absolute accuracy, and all may be assigned with tolerable certainty to their proper groups. The mint accounts show that no halfpence are to be looked for in group III except during the earlier part of the issue, and these were duly described and figured in vol. vii. For the same reason it is useless to search for halfpennies belonging to the earlier divisions of group IV. At this point, however, a definite landmark is to be found. The halfpenny figured as No. 25 on Plate VIII has the three pellets on the king's breast, and the pellet before **LON** on the reverse, which characterize the pennies of IV $\frac{1}{2}$. No. 24 combines the same reverse with an obverse of which a distinguishing feature is a very wide, flat S, of the thick-waisted type, and No. 23 is a pure coin, as it has this characteristic S on both sides. No. 22, with the same obverse, is a mule presenting a typical reverse of group III.

No. 26, which has a double-barred N on both sides, must be associated with group VII (rose on breast), which always displays that peculiarity, and No. 27 combines the obverse of No. 26, with a reverse of smaller and later lettering which can hardly be placed elsewhere than in group VIII. No. 28 has the reverse of No. 27 joined to an obverse in keeping with it, and is therefore a pure coin of group VIII, while it is impossible not to recognize in No. 29 the distinctive style of group IX. We thus obtain the following more or less perfect sequence of regular coins and connecting mules :—

No. 22.—III	=	Early IV.
No. 23.—Early IV	=	Early IV.
No. 24.—Early IV	=	IVe.
No. 25.—IVe	=	IVe.
No. 26.—VII	=	VII.
No. 27.—VII	=	VIII.
No. 28.—VIII	=	VIII.
No. 29.—IX	=	IX.

It is to be noted that all these halfpennies have the same obverse legend, viz. : **EDWRINGLONSHYB.**

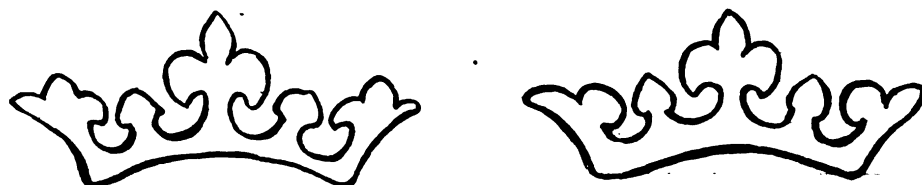
In the case of the farthings, detailed sub-division of the groups is even more difficult than in that of the halfpennies. The first farthing figured (Plate VIII, 30) is of group III ; it has already been reproduced as Plate IV, No. 15, but is repeated here for purposes of comparison. Noteworthy features are the small, thick flan, often much too small for the die, the pronounced serifs to the initial cross, and the reading **LONDONIENSIS** on the reverse. No. 31, also on a small, thick flan, has an almost plain initial cross, and the king wears a much taller crown. The reverse reads **CIVITAS LONDON**, for the first time, and the coin is clearly attributable to group IV. This obverse is sometimes found muled with the **LONDONIENSIS** reverse. No. 32 belongs to one of the later sub-divisions of the same group. The obverse of No. 33 has the characteristic style of group VII, but the reverse may be of group VIII.

All the above farthings read on the obverse **E R TNGLE**, but in groups VIII and IX this reading gives place to **E R TNGLE DN**. The specimen of group VIII figured on the Plate, No. 34, has the blunder **TN** for **DN**. Nos. 35 and 36 are of group IX, the two specimens having been photographed because they help to complete each other. No. 37, the obverse of which is also of group IX, is an important link in the chain of evidence, for it is a mule, with a reverse of group X. . .

A glance at the table of issues will show that farthings of groups VIII and IX should be more abundant than those attributable to the period 1286-93, and this is borne out by our experience, for the **E R TNGLE DN** types are more easily obtainable than their predecessors. On the whole the evidence of the mint accounts, as applied to the three denominations of coins, confirms strikingly our chronological arrangement of groups IV-IX.

AFTER 1300.

The pennies of the nine groups which have been described, on all of which the royal name appears in the form **EDW**, have always been correctly assigned to Edward I., but group X, of which six sub-divisions are figured on the key-plate (I, 29-34), has hitherto been attributed by most writers, with the notable exception of Burns, to Edward II. This mistaken ascription was due to the assumption, shown in the introductory chapter of this work to be a fallacy, that a change in the occupancy of the throne necessarily entailed a change in the type of the coin, and to the lack of historical data. The second of these two obstacles has now been overcome. It can be proved that the pennies reading **EDWTRD R TNGLE DNS HVB** (Plate I, 29, Plate IX, 1) were issued late in the summer of 1302, and that the other varieties placed under group X, on which the king's name is abbreviated to **EDWTR** or **EDWT**, are anterior to the accession of Edward II.



FORMS OF THE CROWN ON LATE COINS OF EDWARD I.
(NO. 1, IN GROUP IX. NO. 2, IN GROUP X.)

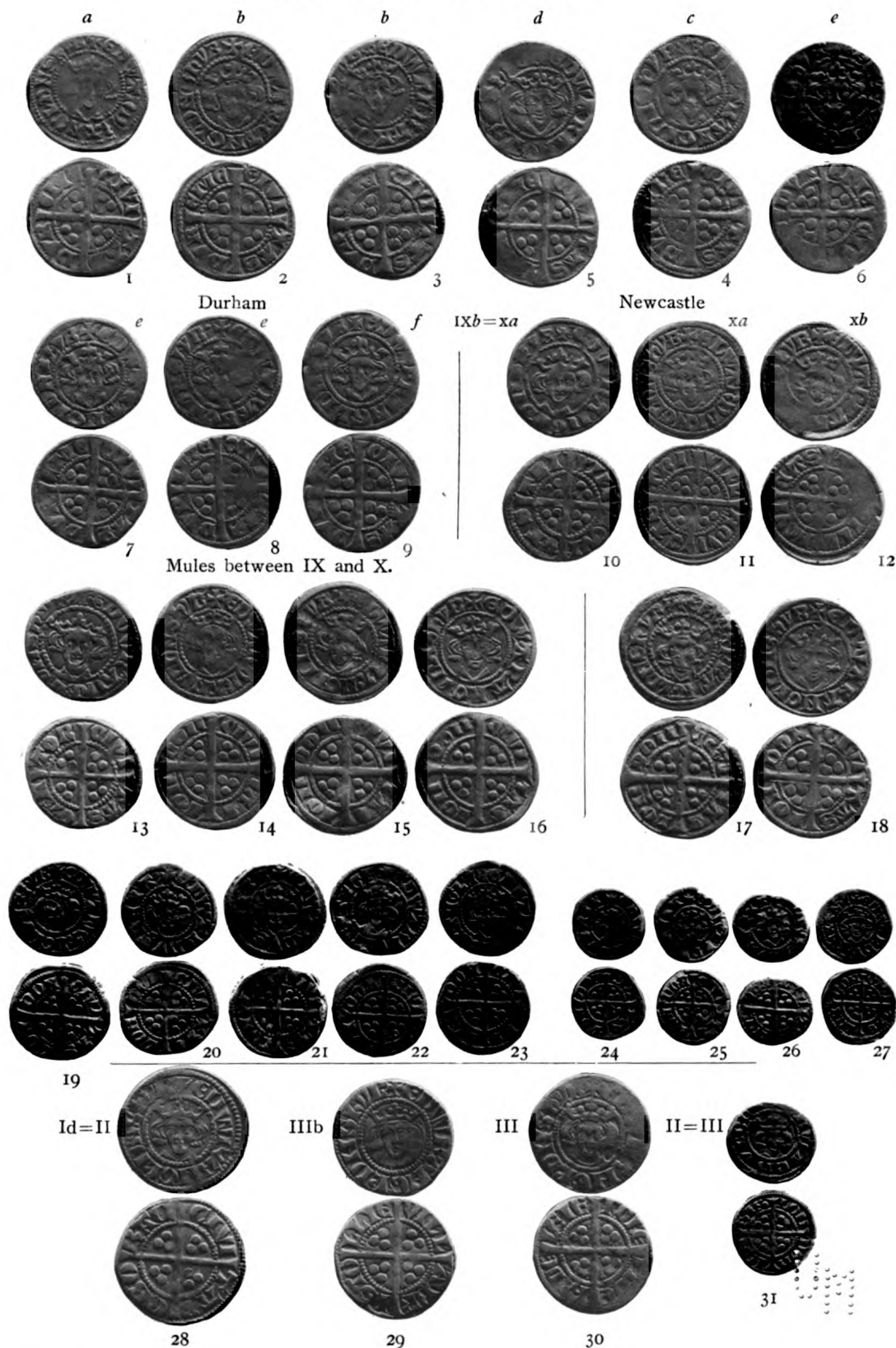
A peculiarity by which the coins of group X and subsequent groups are differentiated from their predecessors—a peculiarity which did not escape the keen eye of the great Scottish numismatist—is the form of the royal crown. On the groups down to IX inclusive the two outer fleurs-de-lys, although represented in profile, are so drawn that all three members of the flower are visible. Henceforward only two are shown (Figs. 1 and 2).

The close connection between groups IX and X is sufficiently attested by the frequency of mules between the former, and the earlier varieties of the latter; also by the occasional, though certainly rare, use, in group X, of the punch of the old trifoliate crown of group IX (Plate IX, 17). Well-executed contemporary forgeries of group X, certainly of continental origin and usually having the trifoliate crown, have been found in considerable numbers in the Montrave and other hoards. On some of these spurious pieces the king's name is reduced to **EDW**, although their style is clearly later than that of any genuine pennies on which it is so abbreviated.

The following table shows the amounts coined at London and Canterbury from Michaelmas 1301 to Michaelmas 1307. This period covers the issue of Group X, but the fiscal year 1301-2 must include some coins of Group IX:—

Date of close of account.	London.			Canterbury.
	<i>denarii.</i>	<i>oboli.</i>	<i>ferlingi.</i>	<i>denarii.</i>
Michaelmas 1302	5,450	nil.	1,480	3,070
„ 1303	4,520	60	1,160	3,780
„ 1304	15,540	50	1,440	15,310
„ 1305	69,001	30	1,210	35,569
„ 1306	62,071	40	1,150	32,427
„ 1307	88,862	30	550	54,219

Group X.
COINS OF THE DURHAM MINT.



PHOTOPHANE CO. S. E.

COINS OF EDWARD I. 1302-1307.
AND SUPPLEMENTARY ILLUSTRATIONS.

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Original from PLATE IX.
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE EVIDENCE OF THE DURHAM MINT.

English numismatists were rightly inspired when they sought the key to the problem of the Edwards in the coins issued by the authority of the Bishops of Durham. Failure to reach a correct solution of the puzzle has been due to (1) imperfect classification of the various issues ; (2) the overlapping of the episcopate of Antony Bek into the reign of Edward II. ; (3) misunderstanding of the significance of those Durham pennies which lack the personal mark of a particular prelate. Such pennies have usually been assigned to a hypothetical royal mint, working concurrently with that of the Bishop, a mint whereof there is not a shred of evidence at any period, and the existence of which would have been a gross violation of the rights and privileges of the successors of St. Cuthbert. It has been pointed out, in a previous instalment of this paper, that no special mark is to be found on the coins issued by Bishop Robert de Insula. They were sufficiently identified by the fact that they emanated from the mint of Durham, and a parallel is found at St. Edmunds, where the Abbot never thought it necessary to use a personal mark of any kind. Bishop Bek introduced the cross moline (or *recerclée*), which formed the principal charge in his own arms, an innovation wholly in keeping with his ambitious and self-assertive character, and, once he had set the example, it was followed by his successors. Now, in groups IX and X we are confronted with pennies, undoubtedly struck during Antony Bek's tenure of the see, on which the cross moline does not appear, and these pennies, duly arranged in their proper order, give the clue to the dates of the various issues.

It is almost superfluous to remind numismatists, who are necessarily students of history, that, although a bishop's tenure of the spiritualities was wholly independent of the crown, he held his temporalities from the king, into whose hand they reverted during a vacancy of the see. Moreover, a strong monarch could and sometimes did confiscate the temporalities of a contumacious bishop by way of punishment. During a vacancy, or such a seizure, the revenues of the see were administered by a receiver appointed by the king, and this

receiver, so far as secular matters were concerned, exercised all the powers and enjoyed all the privileges properly appertaining to the bishop. Among those privileges, in the case of the See of Durham, was the right to have three dies for the striking of pennies.

Although the profits arising from the coinage during the sequestration would go eventually to the king, the mint worked by the king's receiver was not a royal mint, such as those which existed in provincial towns, or that which existed concurrently with the archbishop's in the city of York, but was the mint of the See of Durham, temporarily in the king's hand.

In order to establish this proposition it is necessary to anticipate a little and go forward to the tenth year of Edward II. Richard de Kellawe, Bishop of Durham, died on October the 10th, 1316, and four days later John de Sapy was appointed by the king to be receiver of the temporalities of the see during the vacancy (Appendix lvj). On November the 2nd John de Sapy was replaced in this office by Robert de Sapy (Appendix lvij), and on January the 9th next ensuing the following important entry is found in the Close Rolls :—

“Order to John de Cokermuth, Keeper of the King's Exchange in London, that when he has received the old dies from Robert de Sapy, the King's receiver at Durham, or his attorney, he shall deliver new dies to the aforesaid Robert, or his attorney, as has been the custom in times past. And in this let him nowise fail” (Appendix lvij).

Whether this was the first grant of dies made during the vacancy of the see, or whether Robert de Sapy was merely renewing dies previously supplied to himself, or to his predecessor John, is immaterial. The essential point is that, when the temporalities of this see were in the king's hand, the mint of the see was worked by the king's receiver, for the king's benefit, and that dies were supplied to such receiver in exactly the same way as they were to the bishops, that is to say, on the surrender of those no longer fit for use. On May 4th, 1317,

Robert de Sapy was ordered to hand over the temporalities to the new Bishop, Ludovick de Beaumont (Appendix lx), who himself shortly afterwards received a grant of dies in the usual form (Appendix lxj). The penny attributable to Robert de Sapy will be described in its proper place under the reign of Edward II. It has a plain initial cross and bears no personal or special mark on either side.

Proof that the mint was actually worked between the episcopates of Antony Bek and Richard de Kellawe is furnished by the receiver's accounts. He debits himself with profits and enters, among his expenses, the cost of sending dies to London to be "amended" and of their return (Appendix lix).

The fact that we have been unable to trace other grants of dies to kings' receivers is of no significance, as the existing records are very imperfect, and comparatively few writs granting dies to bishops, or providing for renewals, have been preserved. To quote a notable instance, the original grant to Bishop Antony Bek is not forthcoming. At St. Edmunds, where we know that the Abbot was allowed only one die at a time, the number of dies used, as proved by the coins, greatly exceeds that of the extant records of grants or renewals. It may, therefore, be taken as demonstrated that—

When the temporalities of the See of Durham were in the king's hand, the mint of the see was worked by the king's receiver.

Coins issued by a king's receiver bear no personal or special mark, but are distinguished only by the name of the mint from those of other royal or ecclesiastical mints.

Let us apply these principles to the elucidation of the chronology of groups IX and X. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the quarrels between Bishop Antony Bek and his sovereign, but contemporary documents record the following relevant facts :—

Seizure by the king of the temporalities of the See of Durham on July the 1st, 1302 (Appendix lxij).

Restoration of the temporalities to the bishop on July the 8th, 1303 (Appendix lxiiij).

Warning to the bishop that unless he has given way on certain points before the morrow of All Souls (November the 3rd), 1303, the king will take strong measures (Appendix lxiii).

Commission, dated March the 26th, 1305, to the King's Justices, to hold Assizes at Durham to hear and determine the charges brought by the Prior of Durham against Bishop Bek. As the temporalities of the See were in the king's hand at the time of the death of Edward I. (*vide infra*) the judgment of the court must have resulted in a second seizure of the temporalities, probably within a few months of the issue of the Commission (Appendix lxv).

Full restoration to Bishop Bek, by Edward II., shortly after his accession, of the temporalities of the See, "which were seized by a decision of the court of the Lord Edward, formerly King of England, our father, and so remained in his hand until, by his death, they passed into our hand." September the 4th, 1307 (Appendix lxvj).

The alternation of the cross moline and the plain cross on the coins of Durham is thus explained. Pennies of group IX*b* are found both with the cross moline of Bishop Bek and with the plain cross of the king's receiver. Those bearing the latter must have been struck after July the 1st, 1302. Of Durham pennies of X*a* (**EDWARD**) only specimens with the plain cross are known (Plate IX, 1). Pennies of X*a* were issued by the Newcastle mint (Plate IX, 11), which has been shown (p. 183) to have closed at Michaelmas 1302. Type X*a* must therefore have been introduced a few weeks after July the 1st, 1302, but, since Newcastle also struck X*b* (Plate IX, 12), some little time before Michaelmas of the same year. Naturally, changes of type do not always synchronize with changes in the relations between the king and the Bishop of Durham, and certain types therefore furnish both bishop's coins and king's receiver's coins. The following table gives the Durham coins of groups IX and X figured on Plates VIII and IX.

The figures in parentheses following the group number refer to the key-plate (Plate I) in vol. vii :—

IXa (27)	✠	Bishop	1299-1300	Plate VIII, 5 and 8.
IXb (28)	✠	"	before July the 1st, 1302	" VIII, 18.
IXb (28)	✠	Receiver	{ July the 1st, 1302, to circa Sept., 1302 }	" VIII, 19.
Xa (29)	✠	"	circa Sept., 1302	" IX, 1.
Xb (30)	✠	"	{ circa October, 1302, to July the 4th, 1303 }	" IX, 2.
Xb (30)	✠	Bishop	{ July the 4th, 1302, to the summer of 1305 }	" IX, 3.
Xc (31)	✠	"		" IX, 4 ¹ .
Xd (32)	✠	"		" IX, 5 ¹ .
Xe (33)	✠	"		" IX, 6.
Xe (33)	✠	Receiver	{ from the summer of 1305 to shortly after the accession of Edward II. }	" IX, 7, 8.
Xf (34)	✠	"		" IX, 9.

The type which follows Xf once more displays the cross moline ; it must, therefore, have been initiated after the restoration of the temporalities to Bishop Bek by Edward II., and must be the first type engraved in the reign of that sovereign.

SUBDIVISIONS OF GROUP X.

Some attempt must be made to describe the various sub-divisions of Group X, but this is a matter of extreme difficulty, as the variations are comparatively slight and often almost defy definition. The output of coin between 1302 and 1307 was enormous, hence irons and dies must have been turned out in vast numbers and constantly renewed. At St. Edmunds, where the amount of bullion available must have been small compared with that converted into money at the great royal mints, and where we know that only one obverse die was supplied at a time, we have noted the use of no fewer than thirty dies during the period under consideration, and this number could doubtless greatly be increased by a careful scrutiny of additional specimens from this mint.

¹ N.B.—Nos. 4 and 5, though correctly numbered, have been accidentally placed in reversed order on the plate.

We can, therefore, do little more than base our remarks upon the Durham coins figured on Plate IX, leaving it clearly to be understood that there exist sub-varieties at the other three mints then in active operation, London, Canterbury, and St. Edmunds, which do not correspond exactly in every detail with the Durham coins reproduced.

Except for the spelling of the king's name, Nos. 1, 3, and 4 are practically identical. The lettering found on them differs greatly from that of IXb, the most conspicuous variation being in the form of the upright used in making the letters I, D, N, R, etc. This is now engraved with concave sides (Fig. 4) in place of the almost straight formation, or the "pothook" (Fig. 3), which distinguish the coins of 1300. The letter N, when formed of this new upright, has a curiously narrow and contracted appearance, which is most characteristic, and



FIGS. 3, 4, 5, AND 6.

FORMS OF THE LETTER N ON LATE COINS OF EDWARD I.

differentiates the coins of about 1302-4 from both their predecessors and their successors. The letter R also, in this period, has a well-marked character of its own (Fig. 11), but is more easily drawn than described. It is very conspicuous upon the halfpennies figured on Plate IX. The usual form of A is that shown in Fig. 9. Another very important feature of these early post-1300 coins is the form of the initial cross, which differs entirely from the neat small cross patée found on the issues of 1300, being larger and more widely spread (Fig. 7). So valuable an indication is the shape of the cross that the task of classification has been rendered much more difficult by its absence from the coins struck by Bishop Bek.

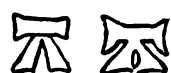


FIGS. 7 AND 8.

FORMS OF THE INITIAL CROSS ON LATE COINS OF EDWARD I.

Before passing on to No. 5 reference must be made to the curious penny figured on Plate IX, No. 2. This coin, although bearing a strong general resemblance to 1, 3, and 4, has on the obverse the open form of the letter **æ**, a most unusual occurrence at this period. On style, however, there seems little doubt that it must be the last variety issued by the king's receiver previous to Bishop Bek's recovery of the temporalities in 1303. Upon all the four coins just described is found a very similar bust, with a narrow face and long, pointed chin.

No. 5 presents a very different appearance. The face has an expression quite different from that of the others, and the lettering is much more ornate, especially in the case of **π** (Fig. 10) and **R** (Fig. 12). In this respect it more resembles the obverse of No. 16 which, having the early initial cross and being muled with a 1300 reverse, confirms the deduction that No. 5 is an early coin of this series. No. 18



FIGS. 9 AND 10.



FIGS. 11 AND 12.

FORMS OF THE LETTERS A AND R ON LATE COINS OF EDWARD I.

is a London coin with somewhat similar but even more exaggerated lettering of the same class, the **π** on the obverse (Fig. 5) having very pronounced serifs, a peculiarity we have not noted upon any but London coins of this period. The letters **æ** and **æ** usually have a sharp back but they also occur with a rounded form, and there does not appear to be any very definite rule with regard to these letters (Figs. 13-16).



FIGS. 13 AND 14.



FIGS. 15 AND 16.

FORMS OF THE LETTERS E AND G ON LATE COINS OF EDWARD I.

No. 6 bears so close a resemblance to No. 7 that it seems impossible to dissociate them, and as the former has the bishop's cross, and the latter the plain cross, No. 7 may reasonably be placed

as the first variety issued by the king's receiver during his second tenure of the temporalities.

No. 8 is a coin of no very marked features, but if only on account of the form of the letter **R** (Fig. 12) it can hardly find a place among the first set of the king's receiver's coins. It cannot, on the other hand, be placed later than No. 9, so that its actual position in the series seems fairly certain.

No. 9 is of altogether different character and appearance. The bust is smaller and more suggestive of those on later coins, but the most important change is to be found in the initial cross, which is now a nearly square form of cross patée (Fig. 8), entirely different from that upon any of the **EDWIT** coins we have yet described, and more resembling the cross found on those of Bishop de Kellawe in the reign of Edward II. We therefore have no hesitation in placing this coin as about the latest variety issued by the king's receiver previously to the final restitution of the temporalities to Bishop Bek by Edward II. In support of the attribution of this variety to so late a date we have noted mules from London and St. Edmundsbury, which have on the reverse the typical straight lettering and wide-open **N** (Fig. 6), characteristic of the early coins of Edward II. Several dies having this form of letter exhibit also Bishop Bek's cross moline, and are represented by coins issued by him between 1307 and his death in 1310. These will be dealt with in a subsequent portion of this paper.

Meanwhile, so far as can at present be determined, IX, 9, is the variety of the penny which was being struck at the time of the death of Edward I., and may be taken as the last of his reign.

We have described these coins as definitely as may be useful for practical purposes. Readers who take the trouble to examine large numbers of coins of this period will inevitably be confronted, from time to time, with specimens which they have some difficulty in placing, but we have thought it best to keep our descriptions on these definite, if somewhat restricted lines, rather than confuse the issue by an elaborate account of minute variations which could at best be of little real service.

The existence of Newcastle coins of Group X is, apart from the

Durham evidence, sufficient proof of the fallacy of the old theory that all pennies of Edward I. read **EDW'R'**, etc., and the intimate connection between Groups IX and X is demonstrated by numerous mules, of which the following have been selected for illustration:—IX*b*=X*a*, Newcastle (IX, 10), Canterbury (IX, 13); X*a*=IX*b*, London (IX, 14); X*b*=IX*b*, London (IX, 15 and 17); X*d*=IX*b*, London (IX, 16). It should be noted that IX, 17, has the trifoliate crown of Group IX. The mule X*d*=IX*b* is very scarce.

With regard to the halfpennies figured on Plate IX, Fig. 19 cannot be separated from the penny X*a* (Plate IX, Fig. 1), which it resembles most closely in style and lettering. It is the last halfpenny upon which the title *Dominus Hiberniae* appears. Nos. 20–23, which differ but little from it in style, read **EDWTRDVS REX** **π**—**πN**—**πNGL** or **πNGL**, and it is more than probable that a variety reading **πNG** may be found. These halfpennies cannot well be separated from Group X, but some of them probably belong to Edward II. The issue of halfpennies from 1302 to the end of that sovereign's reign was very small, and dies must have remained in working order for a long period. The farthings (IX, 24–7) which read **EDWTRDVS REX** **π** or **πNG**, are even more difficult to subdivide, but some of them certainly belong to Edward II. The amount of bullion coined into farthings between 1302 to 1307 was very considerable, and these little coins are quite common, though not easy to obtain in fine condition.

The remaining coins on Plate IX are supplementary illustrations of previous chapters, and the three pennies will be found referred to as under: No. 28, vol. vii, p. 108; No. 29, vol. vii, p. 115; No. 30, vol. vii, p. 118.

The farthing No. 31 is a mule between groups II and III, with the obverse of Plate II, Fig. 20, and the reverse of Plate III, Fig. 21.

APPENDIX.

lii.

DE MONETA.

Fait a remembrier qe le xxix jour de Martz lan du regne le Roi Edward xxviiij fui ordine a Westmostier par le Roi et son conseil de mettre chaunge et overours de moneie en les lieux par mi le Reaume Dengleterre desuz nomez, cest a savoir; a la Tour de Loundres xxx fornaises; a Caunterbury viij fornaises, sicome avaunt ces heures unt este; a Kyngestone seur Hulle, iiij fornaises; a Neuchastel seur Tyne, ij fornaises; a Bristuyt, iiij furnaises: a Eccestre, ij furnaises. Et fait assavoir que Johan Porcher, Mestre de la Monoye Dengleterre, il meisme demoraunt a Loundres pur la moneie faire, deit mettre en chescun des autres lieux avaun nomez un homme en son lieu pur faire la moneye, et deit trover totes choses qui apent a Maistre, pur les queux il meismes vorra respoudre par autiel foer come il meismes prent pur la livre a Loundres. Et Roger de Frowyke, Chaungeour, demoraunt a Loundres, deit trover un Chaungur a Caunterbury et un autre a Bristuyt, pur les queux il voudra respoudre, et il deit prendre pur lui meismes et un clerk, del heure qe les Pollardes et les autres mauveises moneies contrefaites serront abatues, taunt qe la greignure presse serra passe, xl marcs par an. E pur le Chaungur de Caunterbury, del heure qil le mist, chescun an xxl. E pur le Chaungur de Bristuyt, del heure qil le mettra, chescunan xxl, tant come il demurront es lieux avaunt ditz. E Talde Janian et Coppe Cottenne et lour compaignons, marchauntz de la compaignie de Friscobald de Florence, averont les chaunges de Kyngestone seur Hulle, Neuchastel seur Tyne et Excestre, avant nomez, et troveront Chaungeurs, e deniers en les chaunges pur eaux sustenir, et totes autres choses qe as Chaungeours apertenent; issint qil des issues des Chaunges avaunt ditz reddent acounte a Johan de Sandale gardeyn des chaunges le Roi; le quel Johan deit mettre Clerks pur lui es ditz lieux pur contrerouller e charger les avant ditz marchauntz, e respoudront a dit Johan des issues, et le dit Johan en respoigne outre au Roi. E Lapyn Roger, assaiour, demoraunt a Loundres pur faire les assays de les countreboistes et totes autres assays qi apertenent au Change, deit prendre par an, del heure qe la mauvoise moneie soit abatue, tant qe la greignure presse soit passee, xl. marcs. E si par aventure le dit Lapyn soit envoie hors de Loundres aillours qe a Caunterbury pur faire assays, il en doit avoir ses resnables despenses du Roi. E Johan de Sandale gardeyn des chaunges le Roi avant ditz deit prendre pur lui et pur son clerk, demoraunt a Loundres, autaunt de fee come les autres, qi unt este avaunt lui en cel office, unt pris, et

oultre ceo, x marcs par an pur un autre clerk qui li covendra tenir au chaunge de Loundres tant come la presse durra. E pur les clerks quil trovera a Caunterbury, Kyngestone seur Hulle, Neuchastel seur Tyne, Bristuyt, et Excestre, les queux serront aussint gardeyns des Coygns en meimes les lieux, pour chescun de eaux xx marcs par an. E le gardeyn des Coygns a Loundres deit avoir auxi come autres gardeyns devaunt lui unt eu. E Usshiers des eus a Loundre et a Caunterbury deivent prendre chescun de eaux, iij*℥*. le jour. E quel hour qe le dit Johan de Sandale aille hors de Loundres en les bosoignes le Roi, pur visiter les autres lieux, il deit prendre chescun jour pur ses despenses, iij souz.

E estre ceo fu ordene meismes le jour qe Alisaundre Norman de Luyke deit estre mestre de la moneye le Roi a Dyvelyn en Irlaunde, et deit mener ove lui, as custage le Roi iiij furnaises, et deit prendre de chescune livre de moneie qil fra, v*℥*. pur tutz custages; issint qil deit trover le gravour des coigns a ses custages, et totes autres choses qi apertennent a Maistre, auxi avaunt come Johan Porcher fait en Engleterre. E deit faire moneie dautieu poys et dautiel allay come homme ad fait avaunt ces heures. E a bien et loiaument respoudre au Roi des totes choses qe lui serront baillez en garde et a overer. Lavantdit Alisaundre ad trove la maynprise qi senswyt al avaunt dit Talde et ses compagnons qi deivent respoudre de tut, cest asavoir.

E Talde Janian e Coppe Cottenne et leur compagnons avaunt ditz deivent aver la chaunge illoeques, e troveront chaungeour et deniers et autres choses qi apertennent au chaunge a Dyvelyn, e deivent rendre acounte al Eschequer de Dyvelyn des issues dut dit Chaunge, et respoudre au Roi des issues; issint qe le Tresorer del Eschequer de Dyvelyn lur assignera un clerk pur countrerouller a eaux et eaux charger des issues avaunt dites. E pur ceo qe le veiage entre Engleterre et Irlaunde est perilous et la boiste deit estre porte en Engleterre pur assaier; si est ordene qil facent ij boistes, issint qe si lune feust perdue, qe homme peusse aver recoverer en lautre. En droit des gages, mises et despenses des avaunt ditz marchauntz serront taxez par lavisement le Tresorer et les Barouns del Eschequer Dengleterre. E estre ceo est ordene qe meismes ces marchauntz de Friscobald peussent chaunger et achater argent, pollardz, crokadz et tutes manieres dautres blaunches moneies countrefaites pur esterlings par le Reaume Dengleterre, issint qe cel argent et les plates issautes de celes monoies countrefaites portout as chaunges le Roi pur chaungier.

The following is added in a contemporary hand :—

E puis apres fust ordine par le Conseil qe chaunge feust a Cestre, e qe Johan de Sandale deit mettre illoeques un clerk pur lui, e Roger de Frowyke deit mettre illoeques un chaungeour pur lui, et Johan Porcher un maistre de la moneie pur lui, pur les queux il voudrent respoudre en la fourme desus dite.—(*Red Book of the Exchequer*, Rolls Edition, p. 989.)

liij.

Compotum Johannis de Sandale clerici Custodis Cambiorum Regis Anglie a xv die Octobris anno xxvj finiente Incipiente xxvij¹ per breue Regis patens et per formam et ordinacionem per Regem et consilium Regis inde factas sicut continetur in memorandis anni xxvij usque xxix diem Septembris videlicet die sancti Michaelis anno xxxj finiente² scilicet de exitibus cambiorum *Cantuarie Londonie Bristollie et Cestrie* per ipsum Iohannem et de exitibus cambiorum Regis de *nouo Castro super Tynam Kingestona super Hullam et Eboraco et Exonia* per manus Mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florencia quorum quidem cambiorum custodiam Rex xiiij die Marcii anno xxvij³ misit Taldo Ianiani et Coppe Cotenne et sociis suis Mercatoribus de predicta societate Friscobaldorum de Florencia per breue Regis patens habendam quamdiu Regi placuerit. Ita quod iidem Mercatores de denariis suis Cambia illa sustentent et compotum de exitibus Cambiorum eorundem coram dicto Iohanne reddant per visum et testimonium clerici quem idem Iohannes contrarotulatore in dictis locis contra dictos Mercatores ad hoc duxerit assignandum et ita quod idem Iohannes de exitibus Cambiorum illorum simul cum aliis exitibus aliorum Cambiorum nostrorum Anglie predictorum respondeat ad scaccarium Regis sicut continetur in dicto breui.—(Pipe Roll, xxxiij Edw. I. mem. 44.)

liiij.

Praecordiali in Christo filio magistro Thomae de Eadburbir, canonico Ebor. salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Memoriter credimus vos tenere qualiter in primo monetae escambio bonae memoriae Willelmus Ebor. archiepiscopus, praedecessor noster, cuius tunc insistebatis obsequio, formulas monetae suae, quas cuneos vulgus nominat, ut jus ecclesiae suae habebat, et eos suo tempore pacifice utebatur. Accepto itaque quod monetarii et escambiatores domini nostri regis apud Kingeston super Hull jam venerunt, vel vicinus ipsorum instat adventus ibidem, scribimus amicissimo patri domino vestro et nostro. . . . Dei gratia Coventrensi et Lichfeldensi episcopo, quatenus placeat sibi suum nobis consulendo et iuvando in hoc favorable praesidium amicabiliter impertiri, ut ius ecclesiae suae, sicut illo praedictus dominus Willelmus, tempore domini nostri regis Angliae, et alii praedecessores nostri prius usi fuerant, suo fido mediante adiutorio assequi valeamus. Amicitiam vestram affectuose rogantes quatenus vos, qui nobile Ebor. ecclesiae membrum noscimini ipsius aures pulsare velitis, et ad id viis quibus poteritis efficaciter ipsum inducere, gratum erga matrem filium

¹ October 15th, 1298.

² September 29th, 1302.

³ March 14th, 1300.

promptitudine favoris soliti vos reddentes. Nec obstat aut debet movere si dicatur quod nunc in civitate Ebor. non est escambium, ut solebat ; quia ubilibet per Eboracensem dioecesin idem ius habet et habere debet Ebor. ecclesia quod in civitate praedicta, alioquin suo iure fraudèretur, quod absit. Cuius, si placet, periculo vestra cautius obviet discretio circumspecta. Velle vestrum super his et omnibus aliis quae vobis in votis fuerint, una cum grato responso domini, nobis fiducialiter quaesumus rescribatis. Valete. Apud Lanum viij Kal. Iunii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.—(Laneham, May 25, 1300.—Historical papers and letters from the Northern registers. Archbishop Corbridge to Thos. de Abberbury, Canon of York. Edition 1873, f. 142.)

lv.

Rex Thesaurario et Baronibus suis de scaccario salutem. Quia per vos prefate Thesaurarie et per dilectum et fidelem nostrum Iohannem de Langtona Cancellarium nostrum testificatum est coram nobis quod per consilium nostrum apud Eboracum in termino sancte Trinitatis proximo preterito consensum fuit et concordatum quod venerabilis pater Thomas Eboracensis Archiepiscopus Anglie primas possessionem duorum Cuneorum cum pertinentibus ad cambiendum in Ciuitate predicta habeat eodem modo quo predecessores sui Archiepiscopi Eboracenses ex concessione nostra illos hactenus habuerunt salua accione et iure nostro et alterius cum inde loqui voluerimus Vobis mandamus quod predicto Archiepiscopo possessionem dictorum duorum cuneorum cum pertinentibus ad cambiendum in Ciuitate predicta sine dilacione habere faciat in forma predicta. Prouiso tamen quod sacramenta recipiantur a ministris eorundem Cuneorum secundum quod in aliis cambiis fieri consuevit. Teste Rege apud Karliolum xxvii die Iunii.—(Rot. Claus. xxvii Edw. I. mem. 5.)

lvj.

Rex omnibus balliuis et fidelibus suis tam infra libertates quam extra ad quos presentes etc salutem. Cum nuper assignauerimus dilectos et fideles nostros Iohannem de Bures Simonem de Drybi et Willelmum de Hoo ad seisiendum in manu nostra temporalia episcopatus Dunelmie vacantis per mortem bone memorie R[icardi de Kellawe] nuper episcopi eiusdem loci et in manu nostra existentis et ad ea custodienda quousque aliud inde duxerimus ordinanda. Ita quod de exitibus inde prouenientibus nobis responderent ad scaccarium nostrum ac predictus Iohannes ad premissa facienda vacare non possit loco eiusdem Iohannis assignauerimus dilectum et fidelem nostrum Iohannem de Sapy de premissa una cum predictis Simone et Willelmo facienda in forma predicta. Et ideo vos mandamus quod eidem Iohanni de Sapy loco predicti Iohannis de Bures intendatis. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Benyngburgh xiiij die Octobris.—(Rot. Fin. Edw. II. mem. 12.)

lvij.

Rex omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod commissimus dilecto et fideli nostro Roberto de Sapy escetori nostro citra Trentum custodiam omnium terrarum et tenencium que sunt de Episcopatu Dunolmie vacante et in manu nostra existente tam inter aquas de Tyne et Tese quam in comitatibus Eboraci et Northumbrie habenda cum omnibus ad custodiam illam spectantibus quamdiu nos placuerit. Ita quod de exitibus inde provenientibus nobis respondeat ad Scaccarium nostrum exceptis castro et honore de Norham in dicto comitatu Northumbrie et manerio de Houeden in dicto comitatu Eboraci. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Neuburgh secundo die Nouembris.—(Rot. Pat. p. 1. 10 Edw. II, mem. 10.)

lvijj.

Mandatum est Iohanni de Cokermuth custodi cambii Regis Londonie quod receptis a Roberto de Sapy receptore Regis Dunolmie vel eius attornato veteribus ferreis cunei Dunelmie eidem Roberto vel attornato suo predicto novos ferreos pro cuneo predicto liberet sicut hactenus fieri consuevit. Et hoc nullatenus omittat. Teste Rege apud Clipston' ix die Ianuarii.—(Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. II, mem. 13.)

lix.

Compotus Roberti de Bartone receptoris exituum episcopatus Dunelmie . . . eidem exitibus a tercio die Marcii anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi anno quarto quo die Antonius de Bek' nuper Episcopus eiusdem loci obiit.

Recepta de exitibus episcopatus Dunolmie vacantis. . . Et de xij *li* xs. de exitibus cambii Dunolmie per idem tempus.

Expensa . . . Et in expensis unius euntis Londoniam pro iiijor ferris cuneorum ibidem emendis et querendis cum expensis suis redeundo. xiijs. iiij*d*. —(Reg. Pal. Dun. IV. pp 89 et sqq.)

lx.

Rex dilecto et fideli suo Roberto de Sapy custodi terrarum et tenencium episcopatus Dunolmie vacantis et in manu nostra existentis tam inter aquas de Tyne et These quam in comitatibus Northumbrie et Eboraci exceptis castro et honore de Norham in dicto comitatu Northumbrie et manerio de Houeden' in dicto comitatu Eboraci salutem. Cum dominus J[ohannes] summus Pontifex dilectum clericum et consanguineum nostrum magistrum Lodowicum de Bello Monte thesaurarium ecclesie beate Marie Sarum in episcopum Dunelmie prefecerit et pastorem sicut per litteras bullatas ipsius summi Pontificis nobis inde

directas plenius nobis constat. Nos perfeccionem illam acceptantes cepimus fidelitatem ipsius prefecti et temporalia episcopatus predicti restituimus eidem. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem prefecto temporalia episcopatus predicti in custodia vestra existencia liberetis in forma predicta. Teste Rege apud Wyndesoram iiiijto die Maii.—(Rot. Pat. p. 2. 10 Edw. II. mem. 16.)

lxj.

Rex Thesaurario et Baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem. Mandamus vos quod habere faceatis venerabili patri L[udowico] Dunolm' electo confirmato tres cuneos pro sterlingis monete nostre inde faciendis cum omnibus ad cuneos illos spectantibus prout predecessores sui episcopi Dunolmenses cuneos illos habere consueverunt temporibus retroactis. Saluo nobis inde iure nostro. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium primo die Iunii.—(Rot. Pat. p. 2 10 Edw. II. mem. 16.)

lxij.

Rex liberis hominibus et omnibus aliis tenentibus de libertate Episcopatus Dunelmensis, salutem. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto et fideli nostro Rob[erto de Clyfford] libertatem prædictam, cum pertinentibus, in manum nostram, per considerationem Curie nostræ coram nobis captam, custodiendam quamdiu nobis placuerit. [Ita quod] vicecomitem et alios ministros idoneos ad ea quæ libertatem illam contingunt exercenda et facienda sub ipso deputet vel [assignet, et] quod idem vicecomes de exitibus inde provenientibus nobis respondeat ad Scaccarium nostrum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod præfato [Roberto tanquam] custodi nostro libertatis prædictæ in omnibus quæ ad custodiam illam pertinent intendentes sitis et respondentes, sicut prædictum [est]. [In cujus], etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xvij die Julii, anno, etc., tricesimo.—(*Red Book of the Exchequer*, Rolls Edition, p. 1026.)

lxij.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod cum regalem libertatem Episcopatus Dunelmensis quibusdam de causis, per considerationem Curie nostræ coram nobis in parlamento nostro apud Westmonasterium in octabis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno regni nostri tricesimo, in manum nostram capi fecimus et seisis, et certos custodem, justiciarios, cancellarium et alios ministros ad dictam libertatem deputaverimus, nostro nomine, custodiendam, et ad facienda ea quæ ad dictam custodiam pertinebant, ac ad justitiam tenendam et faciendam omnibus et singulis de eadem libertate conqueri volentibus, tam de venerabili patre Antonio ejusdem loci Episcopo et ministris suis ejusdem libertatis qui eis in justitia ex[h]ibenda, ut dicebant, modis variis defuerunt, quam de aliis quibuscumque, ac dicti custos, justitiiarii et cancellarius et alii ministri nostri prædicti, præmissa nostro nomine exercuerunt jam est diu dicta libertate per dictam considerationem

in nostris manibus existente ; per quod plures querelæ, inter prædictum episcopum et ministros suos ex parte una, et homines de communitate ejusdem libertatis ex altera motæ, per communem assensum eorundem Episcopi et ministrorum ac conquerentium prædictorum coram nobis et consilio nostro apud Dunelmum a die Paschæ in tres septimanas, anno regni nostri tricesimo primo, sub certa forma fuerunt pacificatæ finaliter et sedatæ : ac etiam quædam aliæ modo debito postea inter partes prædictas amicabiliter sunt correctæ ; prout inter easdem partes extitit concordatum ; sicut per dilectos et fideles nostros Willelmum de Bereford et Rogerum de Hegham, Willelmum de Ormesby et Henricum de Gildford, per nos ad prædictas correctiones supervidendas assignatos, nobis testificatum existit. Ita quod omnes dictæ querelæ bono modo jam terminatæ sunt et finitæ ; exceptis aliquibus ex ipsis quas coram nobis in proximo parlamento nostro poni fecimus et adjornari. Nos ob devotionem quam erga beatum Cuthbertum, gloriosum Christi confessorem, ecclesiæ Dunelmensis patronum, et affectionem quam erga præfatum Episcopum gerimus et habemus ; volentes eidem Episcopo gratiam in hac parte facere specialem, præfatis Sancto et Episcopo prædictam reddidimus libertatem habendam et tenendam et utendam eidem Episcopo et successoribus suis adeo integre et libere sicut idem Episcopus et prædecessores sui Episcopi ejusdem loci eam rationabiliter habuerunt, tenuerunt et ea usi fuerunt, ante captionem ejusdem libertatis in manum nostram. Ita, videlicet, quod salva sint nobis et hæredibus nostris regia dignitas nostra, jura, et res quæ ad nos et coronam nostram pertinent ibidem ; et quod omnia concordata et pacificata inter dictum Episcopum et homines dictæ communitatis coram nobis et consilio nostro, ac reformationes et correctiones per communem assensum eorundem factæ, dum prædicta libertas extitit in manu nostra, imperpetuum teneantur et firmiter observentur. Et si quis forsan contravenerit in aliquo præmissorum, quod nos et hæredes nostri ad id manum apponamus, quotiens nobis et ipsis hæredibus nostris fore videbitur faciendum. In cujus rei, etc. T[este] R[ege] apud villam Sancti Johannis de Perthe, viij die Julii, anno, etc., tricesimo primo.—(*Red Book of the Exchequer*, Rolls Edition, p. 1027.)

lxiiiij.

Rex venerabili in Christo patri A[ntonio], eadem gratia Dunelmensi Episcopo, salutem. Cum nonnulli de Episcopatu vestro prædicto nobis in diversis pecuniarum [summis] tam de amerciamentis in quæ inciderunt in Curia nostra libertatis illius, dum eadem libertas in manu nostra certis de causis fuit, [coram dilectis] et fidelibus nostris Willelmo de Ormesby et Henrico de Guldeford, tunc Justiciariis nostris in eodem Episcopatu ad placita libertatem illam [tangencia] audienda et terminanda assignatis, quam de quibusdam finibus per ipsos homines nobiscum, coram eisdem Justiciariis, ex causis variis factis, [et etiam de] diversis exitibus forisfactis, multipliciter teneantur : quas quidem summas ad opus nostrum

levari volumus, ut est justum : vobis mandamus [quod omnia] et singula amerciamenta, fines, et exitus prædicta, juxta extractas quas vobis sub sigillo nostro inde transmittimus, per ministros [vestros] absque dilatione qualibet levare faciatis. Ita quod de eisdem amerciamentis, finibus, et exitibus ad Scaccarium nostrum per ministros prædictos [possimus] in crastino Animarum proximo futuro ad ultimum responderi ; ne ob vestri defectum nos oporteat ad hoc aliter apponere manum nostram. [Teste Rege,] apud Jeddeworthe, xxij die Augusti, anno, etc., tricesimo secundo.—(*Red Book of the Exchequer*, Rolls Edition, p. 1026.)

lxv.

Dominus Rex mandavit iusticiariis suis litteras patentes in hec verba. Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie dilectis, fidelibus suis Willelmo de Bereford' et Rogero de Hegham salutem. Sciatis quod cum nuper tempore quo libertatem episcopatus Dunelmie (que prius ex certis causis capta fuit in manum nostram) restituimus venerabili patri Antonio episcopo loci illius et domino eiusdem libertatis iniunxerimus eidem Episcopo quod Ricardo Priori Dunelmie ceterisque hominibus de libertate predicta super veteribus querelis suis que nobis ante captionem libertatis predictæ in manum nostram facte fuerunt ac etiam que infra eandem libertatem sic in manu nostra existentem emergerunt et iusticiariis nostris tunc ibidem existentibus facte et porrecte fuerunt et per ipsos iusticiarios nostros determinate fieri faceret secundum legem et consilium precium illarum debitum et festinum iusticie complementum ne in eius defectum manum nostram ad hoc nos apponere oporteret : ac iam coram nobis et nostro consilio sit compertum quod idem Episcopus prefato Priori et querelantibus in iusticia super premissis defuit exhibenda propter quod nos qui eisdem Priori et hominibus sicut ceteris de regno nostro sumus in exhibicione iusticie debitores volentes eis in hac parte celerem iusticiam exhiberi assignauimus vos iusticiarios nostros ad omnes querelas predictas audiendas et terminandas et ad assisas tempore quo dicta libertas fuit in manu nostra arrainatas capiendas et plenam celerem iusticiam inde faciendam.

Et ideo vos mandamus quod usque Dunelmiam personaliter accedatis. Ita quod sitis ibidem in crastino Clausi Pasche proximo futuro, et predictas querelas audiatis et terminetis et predictas assisas capiat in forma predicta Facturi inde quod all iusticiam pertinet. Saluis nobis amerciamentis et aliis ad nos inde spectantibus. Mandauimus enim vicecomiti nostro comitatus Norhumbrie quod vobis sit intendens et respondens in omnibus que dictum negocium tangunt et que vos ei ex parte nostra in premissis precipietis. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium xxvj die Marcii anno regni nostri tricesimo tercio. Pretextu cuius prefati Iusticiarii domini Regis processerunt ad premissa explenda et perficienda secundum tenorem mandati supradicti prout patet in subsequentibus, etc.—(Rot. Pat. p. 1. xxxij. Edw. I. mem. 2.)

lxvj.

Rex omnibus, etc. Sciatis quod cum libertas ecclesie Dunelmensis nuper quibusdam de causis per considerationem curie celebris memorie domini Edwardi quondam Regis Anglie patris nostri in manum eiusdem patris nostri capta fuisset et sic in manu sua extitisset quousque per mortem eiusdem ad manum nostram deuenit et ea occasione adhuc in manu nostra existet nos licet libertatem illam ratione considerationis predictae toto tempore venerabilis patris A[ntonii] Patriarche Ierosolimitani et episcopi loci predicti in manu nostra retinere possemus de gracia nostra tamen speciali ad honorem Dei et sancti Cuthberti gloriosi confessoris necnon et ob affectionem specialem quam erga prefatum episcopum diu est habuimus et habemus reddidimus eidem episcopo predictam libertatem habendam sibi et successoribus suis episcopis Dunelmensibus et ecclesie sue Dunelmensi imperpetuum adeo integre sicut idem episcopus dictam libertatem habuit ante capcionem supradictam saluis nobis et heredibus nostris regali dignitate et potestate nostra et saluo in omnibus iure corone nostre. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Karliolum quarto die Septembris.—(Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. II. part I, mem. 21.)

Errata.

Vol. vi, page 212, line 19, and vol. vii, page 136, lines 11 and 18, for "Thesaurio" read "Thesaurario."

THE MINT-MARKS AND DENOMINATIONS OF THE
COINAGE OF JAMES I. AS DISCLOSED BY THE
TRIALS OF THE PYX, WITH HISTORICAL COM-
MENTS ON THE PROCEDURE AND NOTES ON
THE MINT ACCOUNTS OF THE PERIOD.

BY HENRY SYMONDS, F.S.A.

THE testing of the finished products of a mint has always been regarded as an essential adjunct to the mechanical operations, and it is believed that the primary reason for the appearance of a moneyer's name upon the coinage of our Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings was to ensure that responsibility would be brought home to him in the event of deviation from the standards of fineness and weight, any such lapse being punished by mutilation or death. Although we are doubtless fully justified in presuming the antiquity of these investigations, documentary evidence as to the form of the proceedings is not available until after the end of the Norman period, but from that time onward through six hundred years there is a comparatively abundant supply of historical material containing much that is of interest to numismatists.

As the regulations for the proving of the coinage varied in detail from century to century, it will be useful to review the procedure in outline by way of introduction to the more immediate object of this paper, viz., the currency of James I., and in order that the extracts which follow may be more readily understood, I will set out in a few words the underlying principle of the supplementary tests, which were conducted by a jury of experts who had been in no way concerned with the processes of manufacture. It was the duty of the master-worker of

the mint to deposit in a pyx or box, before any delivery was made, a fixed proportion of all moneys struck under his control ; this box was taken periodically to Westminster where its contents were assayed, weighed, and counted by members of the Goldsmiths' Company, who used as standards of comparison the trial plates kept in the custody of the Exchequer authorities.¹ The work of the jury (known in colloquial terms as "a trial of the pyx") was carried through in the presence of the King's Council, consisting of the Treasurer of England, the Chancellor, and the Barons of the Exchequer, who released by letters patent or, alternatively, punished the responsible functionaries, as occasion might require. The desirability of an efficient check upon the accuracy of the master-worker and the assayer of the mint, becomes apparent in the light of the fact that the former officer was in the position of a contractor who undertook, in return for a certain percentage as remuneration, to provide the Sovereign with coins of an agreed quality, weight, and type.

But before this more elaborate system of verification was grafted on to the earlier practice, it had been apparently the custom to rely upon an assayer of the mint to adjust and certify the purity of the metal, as, for instance, in 1221-2 when *assaiatores monete* were sworn at the Exchequer ; there is, however, an uncertainty as to whether the duties of these servants of Henry III. were confined to the mint, or whether the appointments related to the ceremony at Westminster, if the latter had been then instituted. The country mints of Henry III. were also furnished with similar watch dogs, for Mr. R. L. Kenyon has shown (*Num. Chron.*, 3 S., xix, 112) that in 1249 "two fit and prudent goldsmiths" were appointed as assayers in Shrewsbury, and he quotes from a record of their handiwork which is preserved in the muniment room of that town. Again, in 27 Henry III. (1242-3) the money was tested at Westminster by thirteen goldsmiths in the presence of the king and

¹ The trial plates of gold and silver were prepared by the wardens of the same Company under stringent conditions. In 1605 a plate was made by them of 23 c. 3½ grs. fine gold, weighing 22 oz. 5 dwt. 12 grs., which was indented and then divided into six pieces. One was received by the officers of the mint, the others being retained by the Crown and departments of the Government.

others of high degree. The coins of eleven country mints were also tried (*Redbook of the Exchequer*, H. Hall).

It is not at all easy to determine even the approximate year in which this method of public examination was first introduced, but it was firmly established before the 5th year of Edward I. (1276-7), the earliest date in a series of assays of the pyxes of seven mints before the Barons at Westminster. The results are given in full in each case, but there are, unfortunately, no details as to the conduct of the proceedings.¹

In 9 Edward I. I find on the patent rolls an acquittance granted to two Florentine members of the goldsmith's craft who had faithfully served the king in divers places, and whose pyxes had been examined before the Council and proved to be good. In the same year the Barons were ordered to open the boxes of London and Canterbury, and to make the assay "as the king's council were wont to do," which points to the existence of an established usage. In the 30th year of the same king (1301-2) Dublin had sent its pyx to London, and the contents had been found to be agreeable to the standard, whereupon Edward I. returned the box to his moneyer in Ireland (*Close Roll*).

There are similar memoranda during the reign of Edward II., of which I may cite one example in his 12th year, when the abbot of St. Edmund was ordered to produce the pyxes not then assayed, of Edward I. as well as of the reigning monarch, and accordingly two were taken to the Exchequer by the abbot's deputies. This suggests that the ecclesiastical mints, at all events, were not often disturbed by summonses from the Crown to prove their coins.

It is not until after the accession of Edward III. that I meet with a statement of the rules to be observed in the mint itself, as distinguished from the subsequent inquisitions. During this period several indentures are to be found which record the terms of agreement between the Crown and the master-workers, with respect to operations at the mints in the Tower of London and in Calais; indeed it can be said that before the death of Edward III. the practice, both at the mints

¹ *Exchequer Accounts*, 301, 8.

and at Westminster, had crystallized into a form which has remained without material alteration until the present day, and which justifies us in regarding a trial of the pyx as one of the oldest surviving customs in this country.

Two of these indentures of Edward III., one relating to the Tower and the other to Calais, more particularly deserve a measure of notice. The former document contains, in addition to the pyx regulations, a provision which I believe to be the earliest known instance of a specific direction to place a mint-mark on English coins. If I am right in so thinking, this indenture is useful as a starting-point, seeing that the occurrence of such marks (except at the episcopal mints of the first three Edwards) is somewhat erratic until the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. The mint-mark of the Plantagenet period was the lineal successor of the moneyer's name as a means of identification, and in later times when the mark was regularly changed after each assay of the contents of the pyx, it was also of service as a guide to the year in which undated coins were struck. The deed is executed in the 35th year of Edward III. (1361-2), and sets out an agreement between the King and Robert de Portyco, master and worker of the moneys in the Tower, for a new coinage; the clauses which illustrate the present subject being to the following effect:—

- (1) the master-worker covenants *mettre en une boiste dont les assaies seront faites*, of every 5^{lbs} weight of gold, the value of a noble, in equal portions of nobles, halves and quarters; of every 100^{lbs} weight of silver, 2^s by account (*i.e.* by tale) in equal portions of groats, half groats, pence and half pence, before any delivery out of the mint. That the box shall then be sealed and locked by the officers and placed for safe keeping in a coffer, which shall be opened every three months and the moneys assayed before the Council.
- (2) the same officer is bound at his peril to make *une prive signe en toutes les monnoies* of gold and silver worked by him, so that he may know which are his and which are not.

The second indenture to which I would refer is dated in the 46th year (England) of Edward III., 1372-3, and declares the terms made with Bardet de Malepilys of Florence, master and worker at the

mint in Calais, on the occasion of a new issue. It will be observed that the conditions provide for a twofold examination of the reserved coins.

The master-worker undertakes to set aside in the box the same proportions as were mentioned in the foregoing deed concerning the Tower, with the addition of farthings among the silver pieces. The box is to be fastened with triple seals and locks, and opened every three months in the presence of the governor and the treasurer of Calais, the two mayors, and the officials of the mint; assays shall be made by fire and touch, and if the moneys be found to be just, the master-worker shall be quit, but any deficiency beyond the remedy he shall answer for with his life and chattels. And of the moneys so assayed, a small portion of each shall be brought to England under the seal of the governor, etc., there to be proved before the king and his council. The making of *une prive signe* is prescribed in words identical with those already quoted.¹

The employment of Florentine artists and craftsmen is a marked feature of this period, and their names constantly recur.

These two documents exemplify with sufficient clearness the preparatory steps taken at the mints in the fourteenth century, and I could wish that we had equally precise information as to the proceedings at Westminster. Such records of trials as have survived are not very helpful, as they contain but little beyond the bare results, and it is not until the days of Elizabeth that we get a circumstantial story of what actually took place when the jury had been mustered.

Before leaving this period I will make use of a memorandum to be found upon an Issue Roll of 1356-7 concerning a payment to William de Rothewell, keeper of the exchange (*cambium*) within the Tower, for a purchase of certain instruments to make an assay of the money, at a cost of 66s. 8d. The outfit included the following articles: a table with a pillar and gybecrake, bordered with small pieces of divers colours inlaid; a pair of small balances for a subtle assay; a table of oak, one pillar and gybecrake of boxwood; a bellows with a pipe of brass for

¹ *Exchequer Accounts*, 306, 1.

blowing the assay ; pairs of pincers, and shovels ; weights of various sizes ; a pair of tables on which to place a balance.¹

The table with inlaid colours is doubtless an instance of "chequers" marked on a board for the purposes of reckoning, from which is derived the word "exchequer." The word "gybecrake" has puzzled several, besides myself, but it may refer to a portion of a scale beam. There is, however, nothing in the context to indicate whether the apparatus was bought for private assays in the workshops, or for the public examiners.

The later variations in the procedure were mainly as to the length of the interval between each opening of the pyx, and the proportions of the coinage to be placed therein. The quarterly inspection enjoined by Edward III. was, I think, rather a counsel of perfection than a hard and fast time limit, and some of his successors were content with a stipulation that the master-worker should produce the pyxes at any time after reasonable notice of an intended scrutiny.

The regulations of the middle of the fifteenth century are no longer expressed in Norman-French. Edward IV. adopts the language of his English subjects when he gives directions that from every 10 pounds' weight of gold the value of a noble shall be taken of each kind of money, the ratio of the silver pieces remaining unchanged. This reduction of the number of gold coins in the pyx was carried still further by Henry VIII., who ordained that 10s. out of every 40 pounds' weight should be so deposited. In the early writings the locality in which the accuracy of the moneyers was put to the proof is vaguely described as "Westminster," where the Court of Exchequer held its sittings, but after Henry VII. had established the Court of Star Chamber, which took its title from the *Camera Stellata*, the mint tribunal occupied that apartment in the old palace. To this spot were brought the boxes from the Tower, and the standard trial plates from the ancient treasure house in the east cloister of the Abbey, known to us all as the Chapel of the Pyx.

I must now pass on to the days of Elizabeth in order to take note of two manuscripts, one being dated 1586, which narrate "the order of

¹ *Issue Roll, Pells*, Mich., 30 Edward III., 216, m. 33.

the trial of the pix of olde tyme," and provide us with a comprehensive sketch of the formalities. The author is unknown, but he was evidently well versed in the subject, and may perhaps be identified with Sir Richard Martin, then master-worker and the person chiefly concerned in a safe deliverance.

We are told that on the appointed day it was the duty of the officers of the mint to bring with them all their indentures and all their pyxes. In the latter there ought to be, for every month in which they had struck coins since the previous assay, one bag of leather with the month written thereon, containing certain pieces of every "journey"¹ which was coined in that month. This bag or satchel "was wont to be called *sinchia*," a term which had come down from the earliest times, and I find the Latin form *cincia* applied to the same article under Edward I., and a French variant *scinchie* under Henry VI.—The council having assembled in the middle chamber next the mint furnace in the Star Chamber, the Treasurer of England shall bring in the pyxes which shall be opened in the presence of the court. From each bag shall be taken so many pieces as would make a pound weight, which shall be weighed by troy and then numbered. Afterwards all the moneys in each of the bags shall be laid in one heap, and so much thereof taken as the council shall please to have put to the fire for trial. The four wardens and twelve of the most wise and discreet members of the Goldsmiths' Company shall then be sworn, and the money shall be put into several fire-pots and delivered to the jury to be melted.²

We may assume that the foregoing description will be equally applicable to the reign of James I., and I purpose next to transcribe in full the report of the jury in 1607, as a key to the series of abbreviated extracts which will follow. It may be thought that these summaries merely repeat what has been already printed by Ruding, who relied upon *data* furnished to him by a correspondent named Pollett. Such a view would, however, be mistaken, as Ruding overlooked the real utility of the original statistics, and deprived his readers of any

¹ The "journey" of gold, *tempore* James I., denoted 15 lbs. weight of money; of silver, 30 lbs. weight.

² *Lansdowne MSS.*, 698. *Harleian MSS.*, 48.

information (1) as to the denominations of the coins, and (2) as to the respective amounts of gold and silver moneys found in each of the pyxes, from which figures the comparative rarity of the mint-marks can be pretty closely gauged.

These omissions I shall hope to supply, more or less completely. The first pyxes which were tested in James's reign contained the latest issues of the coins of Elizabeth, and therefore the verdict returned on that day does not come within the scope of this article, and in like manner the first trial under Charles I., which dealt with the coinage of James, will be added to the under-mentioned extracts. The practice, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, was to take for the pyx one piece out of every 15 pounds of coined gold, and two pieces out of every 30 pounds of coined silver.

The information to be derived from these returns may be thus summarized. The two standards of gold are separately entered, but the standard of silver, as used for England and Ireland alike, is not mentioned. The latter metal was, however, invariably 11 oz. 2 dwt. of fine silver in the pound troy, for both islands, as will be shown later. The denominations struck in each standard are set out in detail, together with the respective amounts of coined money found in the pyx. The English mint-marks are given on every occasion, the Irish marks occurring only in the earliest four trials, after which a separate silver coinage for Ireland was apparently abandoned.

As the English sixpences of James are always dated, and as they occur in each pyx (except those of 1618 "halfmoon" and 1620 "saltire," which contained gold coins only), the undated pieces of each mark can be assigned to their respective years of issue. But even if the sixpences were without a date, the existence of complete records of each trial of the pyx, and the regularity with which the mark was changed, would enable us approximately to fix the period when any given coin was made. For instance, the coins bearing mint-mark escallop, which were tried on June 30th, 1607, were struck after July 10th, 1606, the date of the last preceding trial; accordingly this mark was in use during some portion of the intervening 355 days, and during that space of time only.

30 Junii 1607. The assaies of the pixe monies taken in the Starr chamber before the Kinges Ma^{ts} most hon^{ble} privie counsell the xxxth daie of June 1607 Sir Tho^s Knyvett knight then beinge warden, Sir Richard Martyn knight and M^r Richard Martyn hys sonne being m^{rs} and workers and M^r Richard Rogers comptroller of his Ma^{ts} mint, etc.

Gold of the stander of xxij karrects iij grs and a halfe taken owt of the pixe the privie marke being the skalopp shell accordinge to the indenture bearing date the xvi daie of Julye in the thirde yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Kinge James weighinge iij oz x dw^t viii gr^s makeinge in coyned monies consistinge of peeces of xxx^s, xv^s, and x^s the some of xv^{li} v^s arisinge in the pounce waight to x^{li}, x^s, iij^d ob q^r is founde at thassaie a quarter of a graine better than the stander of his Ma^{ts} treasorie dated the xx daie of August 1605.

Gold of the stander of xxii karrects taken owt of the pixe the privie marke beinge the skalopp shell accordinge to the indenture bearing date the xi daie of November in the second yere of - - - King James wayeng iij^{li} wt iij oz x dw^t xij grs making in coyned monies consistinge of peeces of xx^s x^s v^s iij^s and 2^s vi^d, the some of cxxv^{li} xviii^s vi^d arisinge in the pounce waight to xxxviii^{li} v^s ix^d is founde at thassaie one quarter of a graine better than the stander - - - of xix daie of November 1604.

Silver englishe moneye taken owt of the same pixe the privie mark being the skalopp shell according to the same indenture waieng xxiii^{li} wt j oz vii dw^t xx grs makeinge in coyned monies consistinge of peeces of v^s, ii^s vi^d, xii^d, vi^d, ii^d, pence and halfe pence the some of lxxv^{li} x^d arisinge in the pounce wt to lxix^s iij^d ob q^r is founde at thassaye one q^r wt full better then the stander of - - - xix daie of Nov. 1604.

Silver Irishe monie taken owt of the same pixe the privye marke being the skalopp shell according to the indenture bearinge date the xij daie of January in the said second yere of - - - King James waieng x oz vi dw^t xii grs makeinge in coyned monies consistinge of peeces of xii^d and vi^d the some of iiii^{li} xi^s arisinge in the pounce waight to lxxxii^s vi^d is found at thassay one halfe penny waight better than the stander of - - - xix Nov. 1604.

The verdict

Wee finde by thassaies and triall of all the severall monies before mencioned that they are agreable in fyneness wth the indentures and the severall standers in his Ma^{ts} treasorie in manner as before is

sett downe and declared, and for waight taile and allaye accordinge to the covenants of the said indentures within the remedies ordeyned, to our best knowledge and descrecon.

Noña Juratoñ.

George Speringe.

George Smithe.

Francis Shute.

Gayas Newman.

Edmund Wheler.

Richard Gossen.

Hughe Middleton.

Bevell Molesworth.

Richard Langcastle.

Henry Banister.

Alexander Prescott.

Edward Grewe.

John Tirrey.

Richard Cherry.

John Williams.

William Dimmocke.

Extracts from the proceedings on trials of the pyx. James I.
May 22nd, 1604, mint-mark "thistle."

Gold of 22 carats fine and 2 carats alloy.

Pieces of 20^s, 10^s, 5^s, 2^s 6^d. amounting to £46 12 6.

Silver. Pieces of 5^s, 2^s 6^d, 1^s, 6^d, 2^d, 1^d, ½^d. amounting to £129 15 3½.

" Irish, mint-mark "bell."

Pieces of 1^s, 6^d. amounting to £18 7 0.

20 June 1605. mint-mark "flower de lewce."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs} fine and ½^{gr} alloy.

Pieces of 10^s, 5^s, 2^s 6^d. amounting to 17^s 6^d (∴ one of each).

" 22 carats. Pieces of 20^s, 10^s, 5^s, 4^s, 2^s 6^d. amounting to
£16 15 0.

Silver. as in 1604. amounting to £105 15 6½.

" Irish, mint-mark "martlett."

Pieces of 1^s, 6^d. amounting to £12 9 6.

Second pyx on same day, containing the new issues with different legends, mint-mark as in first pyx.

Gold of 22 carats. as in first pyx. amounting to £154 5 0.

Silver. as in 1604. amounting to £92 14 1½.

" Irish, mint-mark as in first pyx. 1^s, 6^d. amounting to £8 0 0.

10 July 1606. mint-mark "rose."

Gold 23^c 3½^{grs}. Pieces of 30^s, 15^s, 10^s. amounting to £23 10 0.

" 22^c. as in 1605. amounting to £174 15 6.

Silver. as in 1604. amounting to £154 13 3.

" Irish. as in 1604. amounting to £18 15 0.

30 June 1607. mint-mark "skalopp shell."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. as 1606. amounting to £15 5 0.

" 22^c. as 1605. amounting to £125 18 6.

Silver. as 1604. amounting to £75 0 10.

„ Irish. as 1604. amounting to £3 11 0.

11 November 1607. mint-mark “bunche of grapes.”

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Pieces of 30^s, 10^s. amounting to £4 0 0.

„ 22^c. as 1605. amounting to £47 12 0.

Silver. as 1604. amounting to £26 9 6.

17 May 1609. mint-mark “crownett.”

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Rose royall. Spur royal. Angels. amounting to
£12 5 0.

„ 22^c. Unites. double crown. Britain crown. thistle crown and
half-crown. amounting to £179 9 6.

Silver. as 1604. amounting to £67 2 5½.

11 May 1610. mint-mark “key.”

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. angels. amounting to 40^s.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £79 3 6.

Silver. Pieces of 1^s, 6^d, 2^d, 1^d, ½^d. amounting to £11 14 7.

9 May 1611. mint-mark “bell.”

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. angels. amounting to 30^s.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £54 12 6.

Silver. as 1610. amounting to £9 12 8½.

At this trial the King and Prince Henry of Wales were present.

22 May 1612. mint-mark “mullett.”

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Rose nobles. Royal. Spur royal. Angels.
amounting to £5 15 0.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £71 11 0.

Silver. as 1610. amounting to £9 11 4.

28 April 1613. mint-mark “tower.”

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Rose royal. Spur royal. Angels. Angelletts.
amounting to £6 12 0.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £260 15 1.

Silver. as 1610. amounting to 47^s 10^d.

20 October 1613. mint-mark “trefoyle.”

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. as April 1613. amounting to £4 8 0.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £152 5 10¾.

Silver. as 1610. amounting to £7 2 1.

17 May 1615. mint-mark “cinquefoile.”

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Spur royal. Angel. Half angel. (amount
omitted.)

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £204 14 9.

Silver. as 1610. amounting to 56^s 6^d.

15 November 1616. mint-mark "tonne."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Rose royal. Angel. Half angel. amounting to
£4 13 6.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £296 1 3½.

Silver. as 1610. amounting to £5 5 10½.

15 May 1618. mint-mark "booke."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. as 1616. amounting to £4 13 6.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £71 14 4¾.

Silver. 1^s, 6^d, 2^d, 1^d. amounting to 9^s 2^d.

Second pyx on the same day, mint-mark "halfe moone."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Angels. Angelletts. amounting to £2 9 6.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £46 6 9.

(Silver, none.)

9 June 1619. mint-mark "playne crosse."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Angels. amounting to 55^s.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £152 17 11½.

Silver. as 1610. amounting to 9^s 1^d.

23 June 1620. mint-mark "saltier cross."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Angel. Half angel. amounting to 16^s 6^d.

„ 22^c. as 1609. amounting to £4 15 1¾.

(Silver, none.)

Second pyx on the same day, mint-mark "spurr rowell."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Unite. Double crown. Britain crown (*sic*).
amounting to £6 0 0.

„ 22^c. Do. Do. Do. amounting to £122 10 0.

Silver. 1^s, 6^d, 2^d, 1^d. amounting to 5^s 4^d.

A note that the standard gold with "saltier cross" being too feeble by
6 grs. in the lb., it was conceived that the quantity was too small for
an exact trial.

8 June 1621. mint-mark "rose."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Spur royal. Angels. amounting to £2 15 0.

„ 22^c. as 2nd pyx, 1620. amounting to £148 0 0.

Silver. as 1604. amounting to £3 11 8.

3 July 1623. mint-mark "thistle."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. Rose royal. Spur royal. Angels. amounting to
£9 15 0.

„ 22^c. as 2nd pyx, 1620. amounting to £231 15 0.

Silver. as 1604. amounting to £26 7 7.

17 June 1624. mint-mark "flower de luce."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. as 1623. amounting to £6 15 0.

„ 22^c. as 2nd pyx, 1620. amounting to £407 5 0.

Silver. as 1604. (amount omitted.)

7 July 1625. mint-mark "trefoile."

Gold of 23^c 3½^{grs}. as 1623. amounting to £6 5 0.

„ 22^c. as 2nd pyx, 1620. amounting to £650 0 0.

Silver. as 1604. amounting to £49 8 2.

Second pyx on the same day; same mint-mark; coined under commission 1st Apr. 1 Cha^s I.

Gold of 22^c. as 2nd pyx, 1620. £137 10 0.

Silver. as 1604, omitting ½^d. amounting to £6 8 5.¹

The above-mentioned returns are written in a contemporary hand in a book with vellum pages, but a few of the original verdicts, on paper bearing the signatures of the jurors, are still extant.

The cost of a trial varied between a maximum of £6 16s. 10d. and a minimum of £1 18s. 5d., which sums represent the losses due to waste of metal and the necessary recoinage.

The foregoing extracts may furnish answers to some of the points raised by Colonel Morrieson in two articles dealing with the silver coinage of James I. (*British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, p. 173, and vol. iv, p. 165), and more particularly may help to solve the doubts as to whether certain denominations and marks were in fact struck.

The English series of James's coins has been so effectively discussed by Colonel Morrieson that I cannot usefully add to his survey, but I may permit myself to devote a few lines to the currency for Ireland, a branch of the subject which lay outside the confines of his articles.

The Irish coinage of this reign was struck at the Tower only, and was limited to the shilling and sixpence, no royal copper money having been issued from the mint and, of course, no gold. It will have been observed that the earlier pyx trials included an examination of the Irish pieces, a formality which was generally omitted under our Tudor rulers, by reason, no doubt, of the very debased character of the money provided for the smaller island during the sixteenth century.

¹ *Exchequer Accounts*, Q.R. *Trials of the Pyx*. B. 3, vol. i.

The two denominations for Ireland were "tried" on four occasions, viz., in 1604-5-6 and 7, and the accounts of the warden of the mint prove that the coining of "harpes" ceased before March 31st, 1607, there being no resumption even when silver became plentiful in the later years of the reign.

This short period of only four years saw two issues; the first type being ordered by an indenture of August 20th, 1603, the second by a corresponding document of January 12th, 1604. The main differences, as in the case of the English series, lay in two changes in the legends. On the shillings of the second issue MAG BRIT took the place of ANG SCO on the obverse, and the legend *Henricus Rosas* was substituted for the *Exurgat* legend on the reverse. On the sixpences a similar alteration took place in the king's titles, but the reverse legend of the first issue was continued unchanged on the second.

The mint-marks were four in number—the bell, the martlet (occurring on both types), the rose, and the escallop, of which the first two differed from, and the last two were the same as the English marks of the respective years.

Aquilla Smith¹ mentions a shilling bearing the mint-mark cinquefoil, which he assigns to 1613-15, the period when that mark was in use for the English series, but neither the pyx returns nor the accounts make any allusion to Irish coins during those years. It might be possible to mistake a badly struck or worn rose for a cinquefoil.

The portraits, although the work of Charles Anthony, are not from the dies of the English shilling and sixpence, having been reduced in size owing to the smaller diameter of the Irish pieces.

While consulting the text-books which treat of Irish numismatics, I became aware of the circumstance that whereas various authors² unite in saying that the standard of these two coins was 9 oz. of fine silver and 3 oz. of alloy in the pound troy, they were tried at the Star Chamber alongside the English silver issues, no discrimination being made between the two coinages. Now, the standard for England was at that time

¹ *Num. Chron.*, N.S. xix, p. 185.

² Simon, Leake, Lindsay, Ruding, and H. A. Grueber in the *Handbook*.

undoubtedly 11 oz. 2 dwt. of fine silver and 18 dwt. of alloy (*vide* indenture of May 21st, 1603), a fact which led me to investigate what appeared to be a considerable discrepancy between the printed books and the pyx returns. A reference to the mint accounts covering the years in which the Irish denominations were struck, proved beyond question that the silver moneys called "harpes" were of 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine, and that no other standard was used for Ireland during the reign. I also turned to the two indentures of 1603 and 1604, already mentioned as governing the issues of Irish currency, and found that they confirmed the mint accounts in every particular. Each pound troy was to contain $82\frac{1}{2}$ shillings, and the sixpence was to be in rateable proportion thereto. The value by tale, of the pound weight of silver was to be £4 2s. 6d. Irish, and the quality of the metal 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine, viz., "the old right standard of England."

It is rather strange that Simon when writing his *Irish Coins* did not avail himself of the information obtainable from the two last-named agreements, for he was aware of their existence, and mentions the respective days on which they were executed by Sir Richard Martin and his son Richard, the master-workers at the Tower.

This body of evidence may, I think, be regarded as conclusive from the documentary point of view; but were the coins struck, as a matter of fact, in accordance with the directions, or in accordance with Simon's version, which may have been based upon an apparently inaccurate proclamation put forth in Dublin on October 11th, 1603, to the effect that the standard of the intended coinage was to be 9 oz. ? In order to answer the question I caused an assay to be made of an Irish shilling with mint-mark martlet, which yielded the following result—

Fine silver =	11 oz. 1 dwt. 12 grs.	} in the pound troy.
„ gold =	6	
„ alloy =	18 6	

These figures adhere so closely to the prescribed standard of 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine silver, that we can maintain with confidence the belief that James I. provided for his Irish subjects, money of fineness equal to

that which he ordered for England, the Dublin proclamation notwithstanding. It should, however, be borne in mind that the weight of the coins was less by one-fourth, *i.e.*, $82\frac{1}{2}$ shillings as against 62 for England, in each pound troy. One more quotation, dealing with the system of general control, may be made from these indentures for Ireland. It was therein agreed that the warden, the two master-workers, and the comptroller should give attendance at the mint on every "Satterdaie" and on such other day as they might approve. I, and perhaps other students, have hitherto assumed that the duties of these responsible officials were such as to require their presence at the Tower, or at least one of their number, more or less continuously, but if their supervision of the operations was confined to a weekly visit, it is not surprising that the king relied upon the pyx trials as a protection against carelessness, or something worse.

Among the warden's accounts for the year ending March 31st, 1608, is to be found this item of expenditure.

"Keping cleane of Capten Hayes yrons" for one whole year, 26s. 8d. It was not at all obvious why this worthy should have had his coining irons cleaned at the cost of the State, nor, indeed, why he should have been in possession of such carefully guarded instruments, but a subsequent search in other classes of records disclosed the meaning of this addition to the working charges. The *Acts of the Privy Council*, under date April 17th, 1601, recite an order to the warden of the mint that "the two Hayes brethren," having offered to coin the new moneys for Ireland by means of their own invention, should be allowed a convenient place within the Tower where they could make trials to the value of fifty pounds, and a letter to the graver instructs him to cut eleven pairs of puncheons for the new Irish shillings, to be used by the "two Hayes." The *Domestic State Papers* of the same year mention the quantity of silver delivered to the inventors, whose experiments had then resulted in a loss of some £29. The *Carew MSS.* tell us that Edward Hayes in 1602 proposed "harps of fine silver worth 9d. sterling," which almost exactly corresponds with the intrinsic value of the Irish coins issued by James in 1603, and the same MSS. also show that in 1611 Hayes was making further suggestions on the same topic.

Looking at the various extracts as a whole, the inference seems clear that the brothers Hayes played a considerable part both in the negotiations for, and in the production of, the coinage for Ireland during the last two years of Elizabeth and the earlier years of James, although it is difficult, if not impossible, now to define the changes which were the result of their influence.

For the present, we must be content to know that they held a privileged, but unofficial, position in the mint at that time.

I will now turn aside from Irish matters in order to bring under your notice a few details connected with the practical working of the industry which was carried on within the Tower. A perusal of the accounts indicates that many of the appliances and tools required renewal during the Jacobean period, consequently the papers throw light upon several phases of the moneyer's business, and these I will proceed to consider.

One of the first incidents which caught my attention was the large and regular outlay upon gold angels for the purpose of "touching" the afflicted. The earliest allusion to the subject is in an account for 1607 which bears witness that George, Earl of Dunbar, the keeper of the privy purse, had received angels of fine gold to the value of £370 at the times of his Majesty's healing of the king's evil. Similar entries recur throughout the reign, the smallest sum being £100 in 1608, while the heaviest payment was £960 in 1622. The average expenditure under this heading in the space of twenty-one years works out at £435 per annum. It is probable that the burden of so heavy an expense, coupled with the increase in the number of applicants during the second quarter of the century, induced Charles I. to depart from his father's custom, and to substitute "healing medals" of copper for "healing angels" of gold (*Num. Chron.*, 4 S., x, p. 395). There was, I suppose, a sufficient reason why the angellet, or even the quarter angel, was never used at the ceremony, seeing that a smaller gold coin of the same type would presumably have been equally efficacious as a means of transmitting the royal virtue.

When James ascended the throne of England, the differences

between the English and Scottish coins gave rise to some confusion, which resulted in the issue of a proclamation declaring their proportionate rates and values. The Mint indenture of November 11th, 1604,¹ also contains certain regulations as to the preparation of weights, designed to ensure uniformity of practice at the establishments in London and Edinburgh. The officers at the Tower were ordered to make in the most perfect manner two piles of English weights, whereof 12 oz. English should overpoise 12 oz. Scottish by 4 dwt. 9 grs. English, the other weights being similarly adjusted, and after examination the same were to be stamped with a rose crowned and a thistle crowned, one pile being sent to the Scottish Mint and the other retained at the Tower. In like manner two piles of Scottish weights were to be made, whereof the 12 oz. Scots was to be less by 4 dwt. 9 grs. English than the 12 oz. English, and the other weights in proportion. To be similarly stamped, and one pile sent to Edinburgh.

The same indenture provides that the standard trial-piece of gold should be divided into six portions, to be retained, respectively, by the King's treasury, the warden of the Tower Mint, the master-worker of the same, the treasury of the King in Scotland, the officers of the Scottish Mint, and the warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in London.

WARDEN'S ACCOUNT, ENDING MAY 31ST, 1605.

Silver of the standard of 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine had been used for the "makinge of moneys for the East India voyage" in 43 Elizabeth, but these coins, known to-day as portcullis money, were not included in the trials of the pyx.

421 dozen of coining irons for Ireland, cost 7s. 6d. a doz.

"Assaye lanthernes," at 50s. and £4 each, refer to the glass cases which enclosed the balances to shield them from draughts when gold and silver were being weighed.

"Assaye ballaunces" cost £4 5s. and £3 the pair.

An engine to cut metal, with steel for the same, 32s. 3d. This

¹ *Close Rolls.*

was possibly an appliance for cutting out the blanks used by the moneyers.

The next item is perhaps the most interesting in the whole list ; it is certainly the first of its kind that has come under my notice.

"Coffers for the pixe. ij bounde wth yron and covered wth hyde leather, 73^s 8^d." Making the "faces, stampes and patternes" for the king's new moneys, £12 6s. 8d. Two standard trial pieces of gold and silver, made by the jury of goldsmiths in 1604, cost £119 7s. 5d.

29 dozen of "satchell bagges," at 6s. doz., doubtless correspond with the *cincia* or *scinchie* already mentioned, in which the monthly proportions of coin were set aside to await the trial.

Charles Anthony, the graver, receives £47 7s. 0d. for preparing a "fayre bezaunte or offeringe pece of gold," £13 6s. 8d. for the stamps for a medal with the king's picture, and £4 15s. 2d. for making a medal of gold of the king's picture, given away by "His Highness."

Hammers, to the number of 63, cost 2s. each.

ACCOUNT ENDING MARCH 31ST, 1607.

A touchstone, for the testing of gold and silver, was bought for 15s. The indenture of James's first year provided that "two good stones called touches and good needles" should always be ready for assays at the mint. These needles were either of gold or silver, and of various degrees of fineness. A needle and the metal to be tested were each rubbed on the stone, which was a flinty slate known as Lydian. If the resulting streaks were identical in appearance the bullion was assumed to be of the same composition as the needle ; if they differed, a needle of another standard was used until similarity was obtained.

ACCOUNT TO MARCH 31ST, 1608.

"A greate tubb for the synker to quenche his yrons in, 22^s ; and a longe planke of iiij enches to scoure yrons upon, 6^s 8^d."

Silver had been obtained from Scottish mines, and the outlay upon furnaces at the Tower, and for "shodderinge, buckeringe and washing"

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the ore is duly set out. Mr. Cochran-Patrick tells us that in 1607 silver ore was discovered at Hilderston near Linlithgow.

"A lion of silver to draw up a pair of assaye balances, 14^s 6^d. This must, I think, mean a scale beam, as the word "lion" formerly denoted a beam in a roof.

ACCOUNT TO MARCH 31ST, 1611.

"A Germayne assaye furnace made of plates of yron, lxx^s; and twoe yron bullet mouldes to be used about makinge assayes, vi^s."

The latter items were for casting the pieces of lead which were melted with the gold or silver in the process of assay.

Chas. Anthony receives a further sum of £38 for a "bezaunte" or offering piece of gold for the queen.

"A greate yron vize for the synkers office" was replaced for 24s.

ACCOUNT TO MARCH 31ST, 1613.

For making two seals for Charles, Duke of York (one in silver for leases, the other in gold for letters), and two great ivory bones for the same, £19 19s. 8d. is paid to the graver of the mint.

ACCOUNT TO MARCH 31ST, 1614.

One gressex, 6d. The meaning of this word is unknown to Mr. W. J. Hocking, to whom I am indebted for assistance in the interpretation of several technical terms. A few years later the word reappears as "gressockes," in conjunction with "corning (*sic*) tonges" for the assaye house.

ACCOUNT TO MARCH 31ST, 1616.

Seals of silver for Prince Charles, as Duke of Cornwall, and two great hammers steeled for the coinage of tin, and for engraving the four ends of the hammers, £106 3s. 7d. in all to C. Anthony.

In another, but a contemporary, hand is written, "The clere benefitt of the mynt this yeare, 5748 18 1⁴."

ACCOUNT TO MARCH 31ST, 1619.

For the first time in the reign there is now a mention of "the maundy," 61 lbs. of sterling silver being coined into small moneys for that charity, but the denominations are not stated and I am in doubt as to whether the unusual word "sterling" in this connection means pure silver, as distinguished from the standard of the ordinary currency. In the next year 50 lbs. of sterling silver was again used for the same purpose, and in 1624-5 there was a third "extraordinary" purchase of 75 lbs. of the metal at 18*d.* the lb. over price, which was likewise converted into small pieces for distribution. It will be remembered that in the two years 1619-20 the coinage of silver was extremely limited in extent, hence, perhaps, the need for making exceptional issues to answer the claims of Maundy Thursday; but there was no such scarcity of silver in 1624, a fact which suggests an intention to strike special coins. I would add that the king had arranged for a regular supply of small moneys by means of a clause in the indenture of 1604, which ordered that in every 100 lbs. of coined silver there should be 2 lbs. in half groats, 1½ lbs. in pence and ½ lb. in half-pence, the moneyers receiving an additional 1*d.* per lb. for the more exact sizing of these coins.

ACCOUNT TO MARCH 31ST, 1622.

"Settinge upp certen engynes supposed to coyne withall, 33^s 6^d."

This satirical entry points to the introduction of a new apparatus which was regarded with disfavour by the permanent staff, but the date would appear to negative the possibility that Briot was concerned in the experiment, unless his arrival in England was three or four years earlier than has been generally assumed.

The last extract shall be of a lighter character. On May 29th, 1624, there was "a dynner at Grenewiche for the officers of the mynte, being commanded to attende the lordes of the councell"; the bill for the entertainment was 59*s.*¹

¹ *Declared Accounts. Audit Office. 1595/5 to 1597/24.*

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE SILVER COINS OF JAMES I.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, late R.A., F.S.A.

 HE preceding paper by Mr. Henry Symonds, which includes the reports of the Trial of the Pyx during the reign of James I., gives me the opportunity of bringing my monograph on "The Silver Coins of James I.," read before this Society just five years ago, viz., on June 26th, 1907,¹ down to date.

Mr. Symonds tells us what coins were minted, whereas my object is to show what are known. Since the date of my paper, various coins not mentioned in it have been discovered, and doubtless, in course of time, those still unknown, which I have marked with the letter P in the table annexed, will eventually be found.

I will take each denomination in turn.

CROWNS.

There is nothing new in this denomination, except the addition of the mint-marks coronet and rose 1621.

HALF-CROWNS.

I wrote in 1907 that I doubted whether any half-crowns were coined during the second period, but that if they were, they would be exactly similar to the crowns. Mr. Symonds proves that they were coined with the mint-marks lys, rose, escallop, grapes, and coronet. One of these has been discovered by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, namely, that with the mint-mark lys, which corresponds, as I had ventured to

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 165-78.

prophesy, exactly with the crown. I referred to one with the mint-mark rose there illustrated as Plate I, Fig. 8, which has the proper obverse for the second period, but with the reverse of the third period with the bird-headed harp, and which I placed accordingly in the latter category. Since then a half-crown with mint-mark rose and all the proper attributes of the third period has come into my possession ; this, with the knowledge gained by the information Mr. Symonds gives us, and the evidence of Mr. Lawrence's half-crown, shows that my attribution was correct. The question now arises, was that obverse die of Plate I, Fig. 7, an old die of the mint-mark rose of 1605-6? This I am unable to answer beyond stating that it might be, because it has FRAN in the legend. While on this subject I may mention that I have a half-crown of the third period, with the mint-mark thistle struck over the rose on the obverse, and the die appears to be the same as that just referred to. It was in the collection of the late Sir John Evans, and was attributed by him to the year 1604, whereas it really belongs to the year 1621.

SHILLINGS.

Fourth Bust.—I have a shilling with mint-mark bell over coronet on the obverse. This is very curious, as the fifth bust came into use in the duration of the coronet, 1607-9, while the bell was not used until May, 1610, which presents the very rare case of the use of an obsolete die.

Fifth Bust.—The new examples include mullet over bell—HIB : mullet—HIB : tower—HIB : and ton—HIB. Mr. Symonds now adds book and plain cross.

SIXPENCES.

Fourth Bust.—I did not mention the different readings on the obverse, so I will do so now :—

Mint-mark rose, 1605—HIB ; 1606—HIB. Escallop, 1606—HIB, HI ; 1607—HI. Grapes, 1607—HI :. Coronet, 1607—HIB : ; 1608—HIB, HI : ; Mr. H. A. Parsons has an example with the 9 of 1609 over the 8 of 1608. Key, 1609—HI : ; [16]10 over [16]09 HI :. Bell over

key, [16]10 over [16]09 HI :. Bell, 1610, obverse mullet, reverse bell, 1610—HI :. Mullet, 1611—HI :. Tower, 1612; Mr. S. Spink has told me that his firm had once a specimen with this mark and date. Trefoil, 1613—MAG : BRI : HI and MA : BRI : HI :. Cinquefoil, 1614—MA : BRIT : FRAN : HI; 1615—Ton, 1615—MA : BRI : FRAN or FRA, HI. Mr. Symonds adds book—1618; and plain cross—1619.

Sixth Bust.—Rose, 1621—HIB; a specimen with the bird-headed harp reads SEPRAT on the reverse. Thistle over rose on the obverse, 1621—HIB. Thistle, 1621—HIB, HI; 1622—HIB, HI; 1623—HIB, HI; JACOB' MAG : HI : [162]4 over [162]3—JACOB' MAG HIB; 1624—MA, or MAG, HI; JACOB' MAG HI.

Trefoil 1624—MA FRA HI; with a small shield, MAG : BR : HI.

The spur rowel, 1620, has now to be added, and doubtless there are several other variations in the legends than those mentioned above.

HALF-GROATS.

Second Period.—First variety, with large crown. Mint-mark escallop on the obverse only and one with mint-mark coronet reads SPNA.

Second variety, with small crown. To this must be added the mint-mark bell.

Third Period.—There is also one with mint-mark spur rowel and pellets between the words on the reverse, and one without a mint-mark.

PENNIES.

Second Period.—I have become possessed of pennies representing the following mint-marks:—grapes, bell over key, and mullet with reverse legends on both sides. Mr. Symonds adds ton and book.

In the third paragraph of the second period the mint-mark spur rowel must be added. I must, moreover, state that I have come across pennies with mint-mark thistle, but from their appearance I have always considered them Scottish shillings.

Third Period.—I have now a penny as described above with mint-mark spur rowel on the reverse only, also pennies with obverse lys and

reverse two pellets, and with obverse three pellets and reverse lys. The existence of this spur-rowel penny, taken in conjunction with the knowledge that pennies and half-pennies were included in the Trial of the Pyx with the mint-marks thistle and trefoil, would appear to contradict my conclusions as to their not having been struck with a mint-mark.

Considering the quantity of pennies that must have been struck at that time and the abundance of those bearing no mint-mark, together with the fact that I have not seen nor heard of any which I can attribute to those two mint-marks, I still continue to think the marks were intentionally omitted.

HALF-PENNIES.

Second Period.—The following mint-marks must now be added :—grapes, key, tower, trefoil, ton, and plain cross.

Third Period.—There were included in Trial of the Pyx half-pennies with the mint-marks rose, thistle, lys, and trefoil.

SUMMARY.

In the study of the coins of James I. the principal point that has been discovered is the actual existence of half-crowns of the second period which, by the by, correspond in sequence with the half-groats bearing the large crown.

TABLE OF THE MINT-MARKS OF JAMES I.

Mint-marks.	Dates.	Description.	Cr.	Cr. 1/2	Shill.	6d.	2d.	1d.	1/2d.
<i>First Period, 1603-4.</i>									
Thistle ...	May 21st 1603	1st Bust	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
		2nd Bust			X	X			
Lys' ...	May 22nd 1604	"	X	B	X	X	X ¹	X ¹	X
<i>Second Period, 1604-1619</i>									
Thistle ? ...	1604	See note 7	N			N			
Lys ...	1604	3rd Bust	X	X	X	X	X ²	X ²	X
" ...	1605	"			X	X			
Rose ...	June 20th 1605	"	X	P	X	X	X	X	X
" ...	1605	4th Bust			X	X			
" ...	1606	"			X	X			
Escallop ...	July 10th 1606	"	X	P	X	X	X	X	M
" ...	1607	"			X	X			
Grapes ...	June 30th 1607	"	X	P	X	X	X	X	P
Coronet ...	Nov. 11th 1607	"			X	X	X	X	X
" ...	1608	5th Bust, shillings only	P	P	X	X	X ⁶		
" ...	1609	4th "				X ⁶			
Key ...	May 17th 1609	4th and 5th Busts ⁸			X	X	X	X	P
" ...	1610	"				X ³			
Bell ...	May 11th 1610	"			X	X	X	X	M
Mullet ...	May 9th 1611	"			X	X	X	X	X
Tower ...	May 22nd 1612	"			X	S	X	X	P
Trefoil ...	April 28th 1613	"			X	X	X	X	P
Cinquefoil ...	October 20th 1613	"			X	X	X	X	M
" ...	1614	"				X			
" ...	1615	"				B			
Ton ...	May 17th 1615	"			X	X	X	P	P
Book ...	Nov. 15th 1616	See note 9			H	P	X	P	
Crescent ...	August 23rd 1617								
Plain cross ...	May 15th 1618	See note 9			H	P	X	H	P
Saltire cross ...	June 9th 1619							X	
No mint-mark									
<i>Third Period, 1619-1624.</i>									
Spur rowel ...	August 20th 1619	See note 10			H	P	X	X	
Rose ...	June 23rd 1620		P	X					
" ...	1621	6th Bust	X	X	X	X	X	P	P
Thistle ...	June 8th 1621	"	X	X	X	X	X	P	P
" ...		" plume on reverse	X	X	X				
" ...	1622	"				X			
" ...	1623	"				X			
Lys' ...	July 3rd 1623	"	X	X	X	X	X ⁴	X ⁴	P
" ...		" plume on reverse	X	X	X				
" ...	1624	"				X			
Trefoil ...	June 27th 1624	"	X	X	X	X	X	P	P
" ...		" plume on reverse	X	X	X				
No mint-mark							X	X ⁴	X

B = In British Museum.
Montagu Sale Catalogue.
the Trial of the Pyx.

H = Mentioned in *Hawkins*.
N = Mentioned in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.
S = In Mr. Francis's collection.

M = On the authority of the
P = Included in
X = In the Author's collection.

¹ First bust. ² Without bust. ³ [16]10 over [16]09. ⁴ Some are without the inner circle.
⁵ small crown. ⁶ [160]9 over [160]8. ⁷ Probably no coins were struck bearing this mint-mark.
⁸ 4th bust on sixpences; 5th bust on shillings. ⁹ Doubtless similar to the preceding issues.
¹⁰ Probably 6th bust.

THE CHESTER MINT OF CHARLES I.

BY HENRY SYMONDS, F.S.A.

HE attribution of certain half-crowns to a Civil-War mint at Chester has been based upon (1) the mint mark of three garbs, or sheaves of grain, which form one of the charges upon the city's armorial shield, and (2) the presence of the letters C H S T between the feet of the horse.

No one, I think, need quarrel with this attribution, but, satisfactory as it is, I hope to strengthen the probabilities still more by adducing a fragment of evidence, from manuscripts in the possession of the Corporation of Chester, that coins were, in fact, ordered to be struck there.

Assembly book, 1624 to 1684.

Order, 31 January 20 Charles I, 1644-5.

That as much of the antiente plate of this citty as will amounte to the sum of one hundred poundes shall be forthwith converted into coyne for the necessary use and defence of this citty and towards the payment of the citties debts.

It seems pretty clear, therefore, that these half-crowns were made between the date of the memorandum quoted above and the 3rd of February, 1645-6, the day on which Chester was surrendered by Lord Byron to the Parliamentary besiegers under Sir William Brereton, a period of one year and three days.



PORTRAIT OF MARY II. IN OIL ON COPPER, FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL IN
THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION, SIZE $\frac{1}{4}$.

PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS.

PART V. WILLIAM III.—*continued.*

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.



terminating the preceding portion of our essay upon William III.'s coinage, I suggested that with your permission we should resume in this volume our endeavour to follow the fortunes of James Roettier and his successors in office.

We left the Tower Mint in the year 1697 in a position of some difficulty. James Roettier, under suspicion of disloyalty, had been removed from his post, and Henry Harris, his superior officer, was no cuneator. Harris had, however, entirely at his disposal the puncheons and dies already provided by the superseded engraver, and quite possibly some of the undergravers, who had worked for several months in the pay of Roettier, were still unofficially available to carry on the almost mechanical process of producing dies from the latter's punches.

But a fresh inconvenience presented itself, for again the question of finance, so much debated in the earlier stages of the recoinage, blocked the way. Let us examine some details concerning the arrangements authorized by the Treasury Board and given in a memorandum, which was indited in after years by John Croker, who from the month of February, 1696-7, became virtually responsible for an adequate supply of dies. Croker, whose German accent is apparent

in his phonetic spelling of the English language, which he found somewhat difficult to master, writes :

"In the year 1696, when the Great Coynage begining by order of ye Lords of ye Treasury, the Chief officers of ye mint agreed and allowed Mr: Rottiers as Engravers 800£ per annum during that Coynage to Suppley the Mint in ye Tower of London and ye 5 Coentrey Mints with Sufficent dyes to perfect that work, wich the Rottiers enjoyd it for a twelffe month, but affter that time the Rottiers were displaced and i enterd upon that buseness under Mr: Harris, and when Mr Harris dit take place of the whole buseness of engraving, he expected the Same allowance, as the Rottiers had had the year before him, but it was dispudeth with him, upon what account i never was reightly informed of, but Mr: Harris found himselfe verry much greeved and disapointet and represendet it was impossible and as much unreasonable to keep so many workman upon his hand without assistance, wich were eight people beseids MySelf. Att last it came to that conclusion the Master of ye Mint was to pay and Satisfy all the workeman under him, as long as occasion dit requaire it.

The Rottier had for ye Mint in the Tower beseides ther salarys 300£

For the mint of Bristol	...	...	...	...	...	100
Chester	...	...	...	...	...	100
Exeter	...	...	...	...	...	100
Norwich	...	...	...	...	...	100
York	...	...	...	...	...	100
						800

"The persons and Names of ye Workman Mr Harris employd for Engraving and ther weekly allowance—

Mr Bull	}	for making Dyes each 20 Shill per weeke. (? or possibly Soane)				
Mr Browne						
Mr Lowe						
Mr King for making letters	...	20	Shillgs	p	„	
Mr Williams, Shmith	...	15	Shillgs	„	„	
Mr Richd Flatcher Ditto	...	15	Shings			
Mr Sttafford a laborer	...	12	Shils			
Mr Fleurois a frenchman labourer	...	12	Shils			

in all per weeke ... 6£. 14 Shills p week."

This paper forms part of a manuscript book collected by the late

Mr. Alchorne, an Assay Master at the Mint, and now in the British Museum. It deals almost entirely with Croker's medals under Anne and the succeeding monarchs,¹ and contains much valuable matter, to which I shall have occasion to refer when treating of the early years of the eighteenth century. A few undated memoranda, such as the above, obviously from the hand of Croker himself, throw, however, some retrospective light on the past history of the mint, and from these scattered notes we see that nine subordinates, of whom Croker and Bull are the most important to our purpose, were employed by Harris, as against the smaller staff of six working under Roettier.²

It is unfortunately not clear from the above whether either Croker or Bull was amongst Roettier's employees, and the fact that their official salary does not appear in the *Treasury Papers* until after his fall proves nothing, for he alone would have been responsible for their payment had they held private engagements under him.

But some of Croker's own words, contained in another memorial, preserved in the Alchorne collection, supply us with the actual day, otherwise unchronicled, of his first official connection with Harris: "It was Feby. ye 27th, 1696, when j entred upon busseness as Engraver of ye Mint under Harris."³

Concerning most of the men mentioned in the memorandum quoted on our previous page as serving Harris, we know little or nothing. I find no trace of Browne, but "Mr. Lowe," if I read the name correctly, may be the "John Lowe" who was made assistant graver at Bristol in July, 1696,⁴ or again, although less probably, one of the two officials named Robert Lowe, whom Chamberlayne, in his *Present State of Great Britain*, mentions in 1727 and subsequent years as "Weigher and Teller" and as

¹ *Original Designs of the Medals engraved by John Croker, etc.*, Brit. Mus. MS. Addit. 18,757, c. 13.

² See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 245, 248, and 271, and *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xxxviii, Nos. 16 and 17.

³ Brit. Mus. Addit. 18,757, *Mr. Croker's Case*,—a memorial concerning the payment of a "Filer" or "Smith."

⁴ See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 253, and *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xlviii, No. 52.

"Melter" respectively.¹ The name "Mr. King" is reminiscent of one Samuel King, who, on February 10th, 1695-6, suggested a method for "edging the money."² "Richd. Flatcher" should no doubt read Richard Fletcher, and this is a surname which reappears for a considerable period in Chamberlayne's lists in the days of George II., Ruben Fletcher being therein designated as a "Dye Forger," a position akin to that of "smith."³

The constant recurrence of family names in the mint lists proves that, as in the case of many companies, the "Corporation" was a "close borough," and, so far as was possible, offices were held by its members from father to son, succeeding one another in places of trust, a not unnatural precaution for the safety of the coinage. Indeed, at a later period we find the moneyers complaining that when, as in the great recoinage, they had been obliged to employ a larger number of persons than their own ranks could supply, the coins had been subject to depredations, which they as a corporation had been obliged to make good.⁴

But let us now endeavour to follow the familiar names of Croker and Bull, turning to the *Treasury Papers* that we may therein find the arrangement concluded in the year 1697, concerning the remuneration of the young German who remained upwards of forty years in the service of the Crown, engraving the coins of four successive sovereigns, *i.e.*, William III., Anne, George I., and George II., assisted during the reigns of the first three of these monarchs by Samuel Bull.

We find mention of Croker in the *Treasury Papers* before the warrant, quoted in our last volume, directing that £50 a year, com-

¹ Chamberlayne's *Magna Britannia Notitia or the Present State of Great Britain*, 1727, 1728, and 1735.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 234, and *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. viii, p. 145.

³ Chamberlayne, as above, 1727, p. 131; 1728, p. 142; 1729, p. 142; 1735, p. 201, etc.

⁴ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xc, No. 126, under date June, 1704. They stated that in the recoinage they had "to take to their assistance about 500 Labourers."

mencing at Christmas, 1698,¹ should be paid to Bull, and, indeed, earlier than the order for a similar salary assigned to his predecessor John Grillet recorded in a document of August in the above year, the latter having been employed since the previous December.²

We have already noticed that the mint authorities in February, 1696-7, asserted their belief that Harris could "carry on the service" for a season, and that by the help of Croker he did so, making use of the puncheons and dies in stock in the Tower.³ It is, however, not until October that we find any definite mention of his salary, although we have his own statement that from the moment of Roettier's disgrace he began his work for the Crown under Harris, and the official pronouncement concerning his payment substantiates his assertion.

The minutes of the Treasury Board on October 29th, 1697, disclose the following information: "Mr. Harris said that out of his 325^l a year Mr. Croker shall have 175^l a year as Mr. Rotier had and has to get one or more young men to be instructed, Croker's sallery to comence from Febr. last, and my Lords will allow on the Taxes of ye whole 325 a year. Mr. Harris will make a settle^{mt} on him accordingly; he will live in the house, but pay for his Diet and he is to be ready to assist in instructing others."⁴

Another memorial preserved in the *Treasury Books*, concerning the payment of a "Filer" under date October, 1733, claims for Croker that he had been thirty-six years in the service of the Crown, stating that "in Feby. 1696 he enter'd on the Business as Engraver of his Maj^{ty} Mint under Mr. Harris."⁵ We see, therefore, that Croker was probably

¹ See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 268, note 1. Communication kindly supplied by Mr. Hocking of a "Treasury Warrant dated April, 1700, directed to the Master and Warden of the Mint to pay Mr. Bull, probationer engraver, a salary of £50 a year to commence from Christmas, 1698."

² See *British Numismatic Journal*, as above. I understand from Mr. Hocking that a Treasury Warrant dated August 16th, 1698, appointed John Grillet to be a probationer engraver at a salary of £50 a year to commence from Christmas, 1697.

³ *British Numismatic Journal*, as above, pp. 259, 268-273.

⁴ *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. x, p. 28.

⁵ *Treasury Indices Reference Books*, T. 4, vol. xi, p. 20. Referred on January, 1733-4, to the Mint-Master for his report.

not employed by Roettier, or he would have referred to previous work, but whether Samuel Bull or Grillet had been amongst the late cuneator's servants, and eventually received office under the Crown, who shall say? Excepting the information which I have just set before you concerning the latter's appointment from Christmas-time in 1697, I have found no details about Grillet, save a notice under date November 1st, 1699, reading: "Mr Newton proposes that ye Sallary of 50^{li} a year w^{ch} was lately allow'd to Grillet as addiçonal Engraver may be now allow'd to Mr Bull wh^{ch} is agreed to."¹ The name is not unknown in the annals of engraving, but it seems rash to endeavour to identify him with the Grillet mentioned by Nagler, Bolzenthall, and Ammon, because to this artist are attributed medals of John Wilhelm, Kurfurst of Pfalz Bâyernd and his wife between 1690 and 1711, and he is therefore unlikely to have been in England in 1699.² To a Frenchman named Grillet are attributed certain engravings, but the information is too vague to clear our difficulty.

With regard to Croker I am making no new suggestion in assigning to him the major part in William III.'s coinage,³ but until now the fact that his official appointment immediately followed on the disgrace of Roettier has passed unrecorded.

Johann Crocker, better known under his anglicized appellation of John Croker,⁴ was born at Dresden on October 21st, 1670, the son of a wood carver, whose early death left him the eldest of several children dependent on his mother. His godfather, a goldsmith, took him as apprentice, and he was brought up as a jeweller, but whilst still young he embraced the career of a die-sinker, and after

¹ *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. xi, p. 204.

² See Nagler's *Künstler Lexikon*, Band V, p. 376, Bolzenthall, p. 220, and F. L. Ammon's *Sammlung Berühmter Medailleurs*, No. 129.

³ See *Catalogue of Coins* in the Museum of the Royal Mint, by W. J. Hocking, vol. ii, p. 15.

⁴ In contemporary documents, such as the *Alchorne MS.* of Croker's designs, the name is spelt indifferently, Crocker and Croker, and is sometimes even printed as Croaker by Chamberlayne in his Mint lists. In the *Treasury Papers* the spelling is usually Croker, and he so signed it himself upon a medal of Anne.



"STATE-OF-BRITAIN" MEDAL, *MED.*, VOL. II, P. 192, NO. 499.

visiting various places in Germany and Holland¹ came to England in 1691.

It was not until April 7th, 1705,² that he succeeded Henry Harris as chief engraver, and at the time of his application for this place, just then become vacant, it was stated that Henry Harris was "only a Seal-cutter and employed Mr. Croker to do the business of the Mint,"³ so we rest assured that all the cuneator's work was left to Croker, assisted sometimes, as we now know, by his pupil Bull.

To Croker then, we must attribute most of the dies made after those provided by James Roettier were exhausted, and the obvious explanation we now offer, of his closer adherence at first to the type of his predecessor, lies in the desire for uniformity expressed by the officials at the Mint, "that the money may be all alike." Amongst his earliest independent works, however, untrammelled by this necessity, we may cite one of his rare medals⁴ of William, commemorating the Peace of Ryswick, which, by the courtesy of Mr. Spink, I bring before you on our facing plate, and this portrait supplies a connecting link between the coinage shackled by the old traditions of low relief, and the highly embossed style of his later medallic or numismatic efforts, whilst the careful treatment of the hair and accessories reminds us of some of the patterns to which I shall have occasion to refer later.

The attribution of this medal to Croker is corroborated by a list at the commencement of the *Alchorne Manuscript* to which I have lately referred. This price list specifies the sum of £30 in gold, £1 17s. in silver, or 17s. in copper, for "A Large Medal of King William on the Peace of Reswick."

It is probable that the remarkably high relief of the later coinage was in part, if not entirely, due to Isaac Newton, who endorsed, with

¹ See *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. xv, pp. 67-73, *Memoirs of Johann Crocker*, by J. G. Pfister.

² Information kindly supplied by Mr. Hocking from the Mint Records, this being the date of the actual patent. Croker's appointment is referred to in the *Treasury Papers*, vol. cxlii, p. 75, as being on March 10th, 1704-5, see minute to a memorial written in October, 1715.

³ *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, p. 297, vol. xci, p. 143.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 192, No. 499.

his colleagues, a petition that the cuneators should be allowed to make medals as conducive to a good currency under Anne,¹ and it is interesting to watch its gradual development from the time that Newton succeeded Neale as Master of the Mint and assumed a more direct responsibility for the coinage,² until in 1701 the gold presented almost as medallic an appearance as did that of the following reign. The gold coinage of this year, as noticed by Mr. Kenyon,³ was extremely large, owing to a proclamation of February 5th, 1700-1, fixing the value in England of the French louis d'or and Spanish pistoles at 17*s.* instead of 17*s.* 6*d.*,⁴ "which brought," as he tells us, "such a vast quantity of them into the Mint that £1,400,000 was coined out of them."⁵



GUINEA OF 1701, HIGH RELIEF TYPE.

So great was the influx that it already amounted to £9,700 at the end of one week, and according to the *Mint Records*, it was resolved by the Warden and Master "for the greater help to the Importers, that

¹ *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, p. 445, June 20th, 1706, vol. xcvi, p. 108.

² "The Warden or Keeper of Exchange of Bullion and new-coined Monies, is, by his office a Magistrate set over the Exchanges or Mints . . . he takes care of the Buildings and pays the Charges of Repairs . . . He supervises the whole Process of the Coinage and pays the Charges thereof etc. etc. The Master upon any new Occasion of Coinage contracts with the King, by Indenture; and according to the Indenture, by the Assistance of his aforesaid Servants receives, melts, or refines, assays and allays the Gold and Silver to be coined etc. etc." *Commons' Journals*, vol. xi, p. 774.

³ Kenyon's *Gold Coins*, p. 180.

⁴ See copy of the order printed in *The Silver Pound*, by Dana Horton, p. 272.

⁵ I learn from Mr. Hocking that the amount of gold coined in the Tower between January, 1700-1, and the end of 1701, was £1,190,019, so the sum mentioned by Mr. Kenyon evidently extends over a longer period, probably beyond the death of William III., in March, 1701-2, for the King's head would continue to appear upon Anne's coinage until her dies were ready.

gold should be melted three times a week and paid out on Mondays and Wednesdayes and Fridayes to continue during the great Importation of gold."¹ Burnet tells us it was suspected that much of this French money was sent over for purposes of bribery. "It is certain," writes he, "great sums came over this winter from France, the packet-boat came seldom without 10,000 louis d'ors, it brought often more; the nation was filled with them and in six months' time a million of guineas were coined out of them."²



FIVE-GUINEA PIECE OF 1701.

Here, then, we see the necessity for new puncheons, owing to the strain on the dies in use since 1699, and the outcome may be observed in the high-relief coinage—the five-guinea and the two-guinea piece and the second guinea of 1701. The two-guinea piece of 1699, figured by Ruding on Plate XVI, 14, is generally regarded as apocryphal, but the author seldom made a mistake, and there seems a possibility that it exists. As portrayed, it adhered to the older type and resembles the guinea of that date illustrated on the same plate and numbered 15, and if not included by mistake, must be regarded as a pattern of extreme rarity.³ The enormous quantity of gold coined may have suggested the re-issue in 1701, as a memento, of a two-guinea piece, which with the possible exception above cited of Ruding's example, had not

¹ *MS. Mint Records*, quoted in *The Silver Pound*, p. 273.

² Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv, p. 474, ed. of 1833.

³ In the 1840 edition of Ruding, vol. ii, p. 362, note *, this two-guinea piece is qualified as unknown and supposed to be imaginary, see also Kenyon, p. 180.

appeared since Mary's death, and it was utilized by the Mint officials for the most striking portrait of the whole of the new series, but the matter of the designer and of the engraver is somewhat puzzling.

At first sight we unhesitatingly ascribe the entire high-relief coinage to Croker, assimilating it with the bold execution of the currency which followed in the next reign, although the fine technique scarcely compensates for the singularly ugly portraiture of William. The treatment of the hair, albeit more boldly massed, reminds us of Croker's medal, facing our page 243 and compares, not unfavourably, with the fine pieces of Queen Anne, made when his art had attained its zenith, whilst the coarseness of portraiture recalls the elector guinea of George I.



ELECTOR GUINEA OF GEORGE I., 1714.

We conclude that the young German had shaken himself free from the trammels of a copyist and struck out a fresh line, although whether of his own initiative or by desire of his superiors is an undecided question. The technique of the new departure from the medallic point of view is admirable, whatever the portraiture may be, but the fact that very high relief is prejudicial to the duration of the coinage, militates against our admiration of these gold pieces, in that they violate the canons of art in not combining utility with beauty.

But the puzzling *Mint Records*, to which we have before referred,¹ make us doubt whether Samuel Bull be not possibly the originator of these busts of the King. The same document² which mentions the

¹ See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 267.

² Information kindly supplied by Mr. Hocking from *MS. Mint Reports*, concerning a list of puncheons with, in some cases, the name of the makers supplied, and remaining in stock on January 13th, 1701-2.

halfpence and farthings in stock at the Tower in 1702, speaks not only of shillings, but of head puncheons for the five-, one- and half-guinea pieces by Samuel Bull.¹ These are, be it noted, in addition to other punches for all denominations of gold and silver, and the artist's name for this complete series not being given, we must believe that we see here the hand of Croker, be the designs new or merely in working order. No puncheon for the two-guinea piece is mentioned as being by Bull.

We are, therefore, faced by three possibilities. We may believe that Croker and Bull worked together at the new coinage—duplicate



TWO-GUINEA PIECE OF 1701.

puncheons being required, owing to the press of die sinking—and that Croker had finished a head for the two-guinea piece, so far not reproduced by Bull. Or we may prefer to think that the coins designed by the latter were never struck, owing to William's death—and only Croker's dies are known to us—or again we may assume that the 1701 coinage is attributable to Bull alone, and he had not completed the two-guinea puncheon when the inventory was drawn up in January, 1700-1.² We cannot suppose his puncheons were those for the earlier

¹ The half-guinea piece of the high-relief type is, so far as I can ascertain, unknown to collectors, but it should have been issued, for a punch resembling the bust on the two-guinea piece is to be seen in the Mint Collection, *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 15, No. 196. The punch is not much worn by use.

² I have not been able to ascertain at what period of the year 1701 the two-guinea piece was first issued, but I learn from Mr. Hocking that a trial of the pyx covering the period from December 23rd, 1699, to August 6th, 1701, included five-guinea pieces, but no specimens of the value of two guineas. It is, therefore, clear that they, if intended for currency at all, were not amongst the earlier coinage of 1701. It is even possible that they

coins of 1699, for we are met by the same difficulty we discussed on pages 267 and 268 of our last volume concerning the halfpence and farthings, namely, that they were not at the Mint, when in April, 1700, an earlier inventory was taken, and a shilling only was specified as being by Bull. If Croker be not responsible for any part of the 1701 coinage, and if the second set of puncheons, including a head for the double guinea in the Mint list, be those preserved from the year 1699, then Ruding in figuring a two-guinea piece at that date was probably



FIVE-GUINEA PIECE OF 1699.

not in error. Since we find that Bull's name is not connected with designs for gold in the list of April, 1700, at which time only a shilling had been officially catalogued as his, obviously the honours of the earlier productions remain with Croker.¹ Although in much higher relief the gold pieces of 1701 indicate, like the contemporaneous copper, an advance in workmanship, and we have in the time of Anne a good deal of evidence that Bull was a very able artist. The high-relief coins are, however, so nearly allied to Croker's productions that it is almost futile, unless we have signatures or documentary evidence to guide us, to attempt discrimination between the artists. A little later the initials of Croker on the obverses and of Bull on the reverses of medals under Anne occasionally prove the similarity in their technique, and the fact that the pupil,

were issued after the king's death. The date would remain unaltered upon the coins until Anne's dies were ready, apart from the fact that coins struck in February and March would still be correctly dated 1701 according to the old style.

¹ See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 267. Information kindly supplied by Mr. Hocking from the *MS. Mint Records* of April 13th, 1700, attributing one shilling to Bull, whilst mentioning a sequence of other coins not from his hand.

although inclined towards a bolder method, sometimes subordinated his style to that of his master, corroborates our impression that both pupil and master did but obey the directions of the authorities at the Mint.

The high-relief coinage in a less accentuated form continued its sway, and under George II., before John Croker died in March, 1740-1,¹ his style had already been as successfully imitated by Sigismund Tanner as we believe it had been copied under the preceding sovereign by Samuel Bull. The petition, dated January 30th, 1728-9, for permission to bind Tanner as apprentice-engraver, which was granted by a warrant on March 5th, 1728-9, speaks of Croker as "his Ma^{ty} first graver, the only one now living who has hitherto made Puncheons for Heads on the Coins," it is, therefore, clear that Bull was then dead.² The exact date of his death I have so far been unable to ascertain, but on the accession of George I. his position at the Mint under Croker was ratified on September 14th, 1715, and his name figures until the year 1726 inclusive, but not after that date in Chamberlayne's lists of Mint officers, as the "Second Engraver."³ The post of "Deputy Engraver" being, however, held by John Rolles in his stead in 1727, according to *Angliæ Notitia*, suggests a temporary measure, and I understand from Mr. Hocking that the latter's appointment was made in September, 1726, and that he passed on to the office of Seal Engraver about a year later. The place of Assistant Engraver is left blank in the years 1728 and 1729 by Chamberlayne.

But to return to the coinage of William III. The guinea of the new type was not amongst the first coins issued in 1701, for examples are found so dated with the obverse in use in 1700, and, indeed, from 1697 onward.

¹ The "old head" coinage of George II., attributed to Tanner, was issued upon the gold in 1739—the silver in 1743, and the copper in 1740.

² See *King's Warrants*, T. 52, vol. xxxvi, pp. 281-3. From the warrant it appears that Tanner had been a candidate for the post since Christmas, 1728, from which time he had been "Making Specimens by way of Tryal."

³ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. cxcii, No. 13, and *Chamberlayne's Angliæ Notitia or the Present State of England*, Part II, p. 193.

Amongst the puncheons in the Royal Mint, one bearing this bust of a broader and more finished type than its predecessors is referred by Mr. Hocking to the guinea of 1698, and is attributed by him to



GUINEA OF 1701, EARLY TYPE.

John Croker.¹ It will be remembered that I gave on page 271 of our last volume² the date 1697 as that of the introduction of this head, a fact not mentioned by Mr. Kenyon. I have an example of this very rare coin.³



GUINEA OF 1697, IN THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.

The only other guinea I have seen of this date bears the earlier bust from the hand of Roettier, which had been in use since 1695.



GUINEA OF 1697, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

We notice, therefore, that the change of hand found in the workmanship of the gold coincided with that upon the silver, and was consequent upon

¹ *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 15, punch 191.

² See the illustration in our last volume, p. 271, and note 1 on that page.

³ Lot 890, Montagu Collection.

the dismissal of James Roettier, being perhaps more marked than the slight difference seen upon the less valuable metal, which at the moment absorbed all the activity of the Mint. To return, then, to the fact that it is not until 1698 that we discern any real tendency to higher relief in shillings, and that in the rest of the silver this development never occurs, and let us review the currency from the crown to the sixpence of William III.

I understand from Mr. Hocking that the issue of silver in 1695 *n.s.*, was very small, being only £62; we must therefore, I think, assume that nearly all the crowns and shillings dated '95 made their appearance between January 1st and March 24th of 1695-6; and the first reference in the *Treasury Papers* to any particular coins coming within these dates shows that half-crown patterns also existed.

On February 19th, 1695-6, then, we find Harris showing William "2 Puncheons for Crowns and $\frac{1}{2}$ Crowns, which he thinks better than those of Rotiers."¹ The royal criticism is not recorded, and we are left in uncertainty as to whether Harris was exhibiting an effort of his own or trying to introduce some young engraver, such as John Croker or Samuel Bull, to the King's notice. We know not even whether these pieces yet remain. I have seen no patterns for 1695, and some proofs of 1696 in the National Collection appear to be restrikes of the accepted coinage, taken from dies which must be credited to Roettier.

There are in the British Museum two differing and curious pattern crowns, the King's hair falling across his breast, the date 1696 and the edge inscribed OCTAVO, which is too late, therefore, for the February in question, which should, according to the old style, read 1695, and one of these is suggestive of Croker's early manner, for it resembles the "State-of-Britain" medal, illustrated facing our page 243, in the narrowness of William's face and in the highly curled, almost wiry, locks of the wig.² We cannot, however, suppose that this is the actual

¹ *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. viii, p. 150.

² Catalogued by Marshall in his *View of the Silver Coins*, No. 233, and illustrated by Mr. Graham in *Num. Chron.*, 4th series, vol. vi, Plate XXIV as No. 5.

pattern submitted to the King in February, 1695-6, purposely postdated with a view to the fact that it probably would not be issued before



PATTERN CROWN OF 1696. MARSHALL, NO. 233.

March 25th, for the details of the reverse decoration assimilate it with coinage of the latter part of 1696 rather than with the beginning of that year.¹

This bust is not reproduced, so far as I can ascertain, in a half-crown, but I think I recognize the same hand in the finely curling hair of a pattern shilling in the National Collection, dated 1699, which, together with a unique sixpence of the year 1696,² similar to the crown I have the pleasure of illustrating.



WIRY HAIR SHILLING OF 1699, AND SIXPENCE OF 1696.

A punch for a half-guinea by the same artist, and agreeing in type, is in the Mint Museum.³

¹ The numeral octavo shows that this coin was struck between February 13th, 1695-6, and February 12th, 1696-7, but the hooked vertical harp on the reverse, a type which became general in 1697, leads us to assign it to the latest possible date. The placing of the stops, alternately only in the legend, agrees with this date. See *Num. Chron.*, as above.

² *Num. Chron.*, as above, Plate XXV, p. 11.

³ *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 15, No. 197.

If, however, these coins be by John Croker, it is curious that they should not have come into use after his appointment; besides this, a crown dated OCTAVO could not be within the scope of the artist's official work.¹ It is, of course, possible that each of these coins represents an effort on the part of Croker to obtain the place of graver, and in this light we may suggest that the crown and sixpence were made by him at the moment when James Roettier was suspended from office early in February, 1696-7, as evidences of his skill before the restrictions as to change of portraiture had been imposed by the Mint authorities. The date of the shilling precludes it from forming an actual part of such a series, unless we believe that Croker produced the die subsequently from a puncheon, made in his earlier manner, contemporaneously with the crown and sixpence. The puncheon for half-a-guinea, bearing a similar portrait—No. 197 in the Mint Museum—throws no light on the matter, being undated, and I have seen neither die nor coin made from this punch.

The workmanship of these examples is far superior to that of the other pattern crown of 1696,² which is reproduced in a sixpence of extreme rarity in 1696³ and less rarely in 1697.⁴ Besides my own,



CROWN, WITH LARGE HEAD, OF 1696. MARSHALL NO. 235.

I have seen two specimens of the earlier date, one in the British Museum, and the second in the collection of Colonel Morrieson, but none

¹ Neither crown nor sixpence is in the fine state usually found in patterns—the shilling is a proof. All three are of extreme rarity, possibly unique.

² Marshall, No. 235, and *Num. Chron.*, 4th series, vol. vi, Plate XXIV, No. 4.

³ Marshall, No. 291, and *Num. Chron.*, as above, Plate XXV, No. 10.

⁴ Marshall, No. 300, and *Num. Chron.*, as above, p. 380.

of the three is in such condition as would denote them to be patterns. Moreover, although by no means common, I have had the



opportunity of examining nine specimens pertaining to the year 1697, and minute differences in the reverse dies, such as the number and position of the strings in the harp, etc., declare that their issue at the Tower must have extended over a considerable period.¹ The date, as we have seen, in the first issue precludes our belief that this portrait with the large head, curiously unlike the usual rendering of the King's features, was a final challenge to Roettier in July, 1697, by Harris, according to the competition suggested by Roettier to the Treasury authorities, which I quoted on page 272 of our last volume. But the fact that the sixpence came into circulation after Roettier's disgrace, and that it bears no likeness to his workmanship, neither to that of Bull, if we may be guided by his few signed medals, nor to that of Croker, leads me tentatively to suggest that the crown and sixpence represent a not very successful contribution by Harris himself, or by some undergraver whom he temporarily employed with a view to maintaining his own position, in the February of 1696-7.

With the year 1698 we come at last to a marked change of portraiture and treatment in the silver. The copies of the Roettier coinage were gradually superseded by the flaming-hair shilling, shown in our last volume on page 217, which reigned for two years, 1698 and 1699; but it was not long unchallenged if, as we read in Hawkins'

¹ Most of the examples which I have seen have transverse strings, varying in number from four to five. Mr. Graham, however, has kindly shown me two specimens with a vertical stringed harp, one having a blundered legend. See *Num. Chron.*, as before, p. 380. The hooked vertical harp became more general towards the end of the year 1697.

Silver Coins, a specimen existed of the "high-hair" type dated 1698.¹ This entirely new bust in turn held sway during 1699, 1700 and 1701.



"HIGH-HAIR" SHILLING OF 1699.

Again we are met by the impossibility of disentangling the work of Bull from that of Croker, shilling puncheons by both artists figuring in the Mint lists as being in stock in 1700 and 1701-2.² The King looks younger upon this final shilling than upon its predecessors, but its greatest peculiarity, especially if we look at the proofs, such as that here illustrated, lies in the tendency, which we cannot fail to notice,



PROOF IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM OF THE "HIGH-HAIR" SHILLING OF 1699.

towards a higher relief. Hawkins says: "In 1699 a shilling was struck, very different from any of the preceding, in high relief,"³ so also writes Marshall,⁴ and again, we cannot forbear wondering whether this may be the shilling for which a puncheon by Bull is mentioned as being in stock in April, 1700,⁵ a precursor perhaps of the curious portrait later seen upon the gold, for the pattern illustrated on our page 252 is not in sufficiently high relief for us to identify it with the

¹ Hawkins, pp. 395 and 397.

² *MS. Mint Records*.

³ Hawkins, p. 395.

⁴ Marshall, p. 46, No. 282.

⁵ *MS. Mint Records*.

description given above by Hawkins and Marshall. But enough of the shillings: let us return to the larger coins, although the ordinary crowns throw little light upon the matter of the engravers, as regards



CROWN OF 1696. STRAIGHT CUIRASS. MARSHALL, NO. 234.

their workmanship. The five-shilling pieces with the curved breastplate were replaced in the course of 1696 by a fresh bust, the armour taking a straighter line; but as these commonly exist with OCTAVO on the edge, they must have been issued before Roettier's departure. It has been noted by various authors that Mr. Cuff possessed a curious crown of 1697, an exact description of which is lacking. Hawkins, who no doubt saw it, calls it a rare variety.¹ Marshall writes that it is "not like either No. 234 or 235, but between the two" (*i.e.*, between



CROWN OF 1697.

the large head of 1696 with curved breastplate, and the second or straight cuirass type of that year).² Not a very enlightening description. Mr. Graham believed that this curiosity was of the rare type

¹ Hawkins, p. 393.

² Marshall, p. 38, No. 236.

with hair flowing across the breast.¹ There is in the British Museum a crown of 1697, with edge inscribed NONO, purchased at the Cuff sale in 1654,² which I am permitted to illustrate, and not only has Mr. Graham, as he kindly informs me, acquired (since writing his article) a precisely similar piece, but so also has Colonel Morrieson, the type following that of the ordinary coin of the preceding year.

I was anxious to ascertain whether Mr. Cuff possessed any other specimen which had not found its way into his sale, and by the courtesy of Mr. Webster, who is the fortunate possessor of the late Mr. Cuff's copy of Ruding's *Annals*, annotated by his own hand, I was enabled to study his note on the subject. I find that he wrote against Ruding, Plate XXXVI, 1 (*i.e.*, the type with the curved cuirass), "I have a crown dated 1697, I do not know another." I believe, therefore, that Mr. Cuff merely deemed his coin, mistakenly, as we now know, to be unique, for it is not very likely that his reference was to the curved cuirass of 1695, which had been already discarded in 1696. The fact that, with these rare exceptions, we find no crowns in 1697, nor, indeed, until 1700, requires some explanation. Although no crowns were



CROWN OF 1700.

issued by the country mints, the large quantity put forth in London in 1696 had possibly supplied the market sufficiently, for we have seen that the profit to the workmen was greater in making large coins than small. Neale had with some difficulty induced them to strike

¹ *Num. Chron.*, as before, p. 368.

² Cuff Catalogue, Lot 1420. This was the only 1697 crown in the Cuff sale.

shillings and sixpences rather than crowns and half-crowns.¹ It is extremely curious that the records of the output seldom agree with the rarity of coins at this day, and we shall see that the scarcity of guineas dated 1697 is a matter no more easily explained. The entire gold coinage from January, 1696–7, to the end of the current year was, as I learn from Mr. Hocking, £120,447.² It is true that this computation includes three months, which should bear date 1696, according to old style, instead of 1697, and I cannot tell what proportion should be allotted to half-guineas, a coin which is, however, also rare in the latter year. A very large number of guineas had been required by the King for payment of the troops, when, as we have seen, the price of these coins had risen enormously, owing to the fact that our defective silver was not received in foreign markets. Whilst the price of the guinea was high, the Royal Mint coining free of expense, produced a large quantity for private persons, to whose interest it was to turn ingots into currency in order to profit by the exchange, and a bill was discussed and passed in February, 1695–6,³ to take off the obligation, imposed in the time of Charles II.,⁴ to coin guineas, which interfered with the rapid output of silver. Thomas Neale placed before the House of Commons a list of these “private persons,” for whom this office had been performed, between Lady Day, 1695, and the following February 13th, 1695–6, the number of coins amounting to 721,280 guineas.⁵ In spite of the great quantity here specified, the guinea of 1695 is not reckoned especially common, perhaps because it was very largely exported during the war, and this heavy demand continued throughout

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xxxviii, No. 19, May 23rd, 1696, and *Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 220 and 247.

² *MS. Mint Records*.

³ The obligation to coin guineas was taken off between March 2nd, 1695–6, and the following January, but an Act of the succeeding year reduced this period to November 10th, 1696, 7° and 8° Gul. III., c. 13. See also *Commons' Journals*, vol. xi, pp. 449, 457 and 464—1695–6. The Bill passed the Commons, February 24th, 1695–6.

⁴ 18° Carol. II., c. 5, 1666.

⁵ *Commons' Journals*, as above, p. 446, February 13th, 1695–6. The total gold coinage of the year 1695 *n.s.* was £717,218, whence it appears that the greater part of the coinage must have been for private persons.

the next year. The output of 1696¹ was, nevertheless, a little larger than that of 1697, which is curious, seeing the regulations to prevent the gold issue from hampering the silver. We find the officers of the Mint called into the Treasury Chamber on February 12th, 1695-6, and instructed that "none of the Gold is to be coyned till the silver first delivered be dispatched."² It was, however, later specified by Act of Parliament that "one or more Mill or Mills—Presse or Presses" should specially be set aside for coining gold, and that all others should be devoted to the recoinage of the silver, but that "they should be kept in distinct amounts and not interfere one with another."³

In September, 1698, a report was submitted to the House of Commons by John Locke and others, on the propriety of lowering the value of the guinea from 22s. to 21s. 6d., because the high price at which it stood caused too large an importation of gold, and it is mentioned that 250,713 guineas had been coined between the preceding May 1st and September 12th in 1698.⁴ I learn from the Royal Mint that between January and December in that year the gold coinage reached £471,666, and, owing to the lowering of the value of the guinea, to the adequate supply of silver which had re-established our credit abroad, and to the fact that the Peace of Ryswick, signed in September, 1697, had put an end to the constant drain on the country, no necessity arose for an abnormally large issue of gold again until the year 1701, of which we have already spoken.⁵

It is noticeable that regulations temporarily relieving the Mint authorities from the obligation to coin guineas between March 2nd, 1695-6, and the following November, made an exception in favour of

¹ £138,617 in the twelve months, beginning January, 1695-6. We have seen that between March 2nd and the following November 10th the Mint was not under obligation to coin gold. See note 3 of previous page.

² *MS. Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. viii, p. 146.

³ 8^o and 9^o Gul. III., c. 1, *Statutes*, vol. vii, pp. 161 and 162, 1696-7. This Act repealed that of the former year, and enacted that from November 10th, 1696, one or more mills should be devoted to the coining of gold.

⁴ *The Silver Pound*, p. 252.

⁵ The gold issue between January and the ensuing December was £141,377 in 1699, £120,212 in 1700, £1,190,019 in 1701.

the South African Company, directing that bullion supplied by this body should be issued in the form of half-guineas, and I learn, therefore, without surprise, that coins so dated are not uncommon.¹ Little of interest attaches to the type of the half-guinea, and the specimens which I place before you prove that little, if any, change of portrait is to be found in these coins, which agree better with Roettier's bust upon the



HALF-GUINEA OF 1695.

HALF-GUINEA OF 1701.

guinea from 1695-97 than with Croker's dies which followed. We have seen that a high-relief puncheon, which has suffered little use, is preserved in the Royal Mint,² and no doubt this type would have superseded the above had William lived. Another puncheon, accompanied by two dies³ in the same Museum, recalls absolutely the bust of William on the halfpence and farthings made during the lifetime of Mary, such as Montagu 3, which I illustrate, by the kindness of Mr. Weightman, and Montagu 15, etc.



PATTERN HALFPENNY OF WILLIAM AND MARY. MONTAGU, NO. 3.

¹ See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 223, Minutes made at the Treasury Board December 17th, 1695, "My Lords direct that till further order no Gold be coyned at ye Mint but in half-guineys," T. 29, vol. viii, p. 119. See also 7^o and 8^o Gul. III., c. 13. *Statutes*, vol. vii, pp. 77 and 78.

² *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 15. Punch No. 196. See also our p. 247, note 1.

³ *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 15. Puncheon 197a and dies Nos. 198-9.

This bust of William reappeared on copper pieces alone, and were it not for the half-guinea dies, we might imagine the puncheon to have belonged to the copper series. As it is, we must regard both dies and puncheon as suggestive of rejected patterns from the hand of Norbert Roettier, before his departure for France. The punch shows signs of wear, but this can be accounted for, since it may have been used for the halfpence and farthings. Of another punch for a half-guinea with slightly curled hair, like the rare sixpence of 1696, I have already spoken.¹

The question of the Scottish coinage was touched upon by me in our seventh volume² and need not detain us long, for it is unnecessary to recapitulate the ample evidence given by the late Mr. Cochran-Patrick as to the engraver of William's issues in gold in 1701, and in silver and copper from 1695 onwards, the coins clearly emanating from one hand, and that the hand of James Clark.³ The busts on the Scottish currency are well engraved, but singularly ungraceful, and it is matter of regret



SCOTTISH FORTY-SHILLING PIECE, 1697, EDGE NONO.

that the practice pursued on the accession of William and Mary of sending puncheons and sample dies from England had been temporarily abandoned. It was, however, natural that in the stress of work caused by the great recoinage in England, recourse should be had to the assistance of a special graver for the Scottish mint.

¹ *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 197, p. 15. See our p. 252.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, pp. 239 and 240.

³ *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 244, 249, 256, and 278.

On November 6th, 1698, we notice the despatch to Ireland of some coin-weights,¹ but I have seen few references to the monetary affairs of the Sister Isle after the withdrawal of the gun money.

The *Treasury Papers* under date September 1st, 1698, inform us that the Lords of the Treasury agreed to the report of the officers of the Mint "on the proposal of a mint in Ireland,"² but we are not informed of the terms of this "proposal."

Other documents, however, throw some light on this affair, for we find that before the death of Queen Mary a request was sent from Dublin for the grant of a local establishment for "coining Silver monies at 11 per cent. Lighter than it is now in their Ma^s Mint in the Tower," but it was hampered by this suggestion of lowering the standard, which did not meet with the approval of the London officials.³ The Lord Lieutenant—Lord Methuen—and others of his Council had advised this course, and were met by a report, under date November 4th, 1693, proving that a reduction of even one per cent. might be very prejudicial on the required issue of £50,000 and far more so, if the above proposal were carried out. The officers stated their opinion "that if their Maj^{ties} shall be pleased to cause a mint to be erected in Ireland, It will be much to their Honour, Justice and Interest to establish it upon the same Standard both in weight and fineness of that of England, and to be altered from time to time as that shall be and not otherwise." Again, on June 19th, 1694, the Commissioners of Revenue, amongst whom was a future Lord Mayor of Dublin, Bartholomew Van Homrigh, concerning whom we shall hear more anon, resumed the vexed question and spoke of ten per cent. below standard as a possible solution of the problem. Excepting ducatoons, equalling 6s., there was hardly any silver, and the guinea, they stated, was at that time current in Ireland for 23s., whilst it reached but 22s. in England. Difficulties were experienced in exchanging the tin halfpence, and the scarcity of small money was

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xlvi, No. 49. *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1697-1701, p. 107.

² *MS. Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. x, p. 226.

³ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xxviii, No. 65. Calendared 1556-1696, pp. 376-7.

very great. The mint officers on July 4th, 1694, brought forward their former report, but in spite of their admission that an Irish mint might be required, no silver coinage was specially made for the Sister Isle under William, either before or after Mary's demise, and so far as I am aware, the halfpence of 1695 and 1696 form the only Irish issue between the death of the Queen and the advent of the House of Hanover, when William Wood's patents created great excitement. We notice, however, the recurrence of this question, for Lord Fairfax and William Russell, in May, 1701, fruitlessly petitioned for permission to coin copper pence, halfpence, and farthings for Ireland, and for purposes of export.¹ On the plea that the extant grants "for coynage of Copper money in England and the Plantations and Collonys beyond seas is already expired or very nearly expiring," they, whilst pressing for the colonial patent, mentioned the postponement of the Irish matter, until Lord Rochester, the new Lord Lieutenant, should be established at Dublin.² The subject of instituting an Irish mint was fully discussed at the Treasury Council on June 6th and 10th, 1701, with the result that the King was requested "to have an Instrucion given to Ld Lt of Ireland to Rep^t upon his arrivall in that Kingdome, whether the want of smaller species of English mo. be very great and very prejudiciall to the Trade of that Kingdom, what the charge may be of Erecting a Mint to coyn the foreign Silver mo. now current there into the Smaller Species of English mony, and whether there be a sufficient quantity of Forreign mony there for that purpose. To the end an authority may be given by his Ma^{ty} to his Exc^{ty} to Erect a Mint there either for two or 3 years as he shall report it necessary." Whether

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxiv, No. 22. Calendared 1697-1701, p. 492. Minuted May 14th, 1701, "Not granted." See also *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. xii, p. 279, "Lord Fairfax Memⁿ, about Coining Copper Money read. It cannot be granted." It is beyond our province here to pursue the subject of colonial issues, but those interested in the subject will find a proposition from one Samuel Davis to coin copper, or "mixt metall," with "severall mottoes and devices for ye severall colonys" in the same year. See *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1697-1701, p. 507, vol. lxxv, No. 13.

² Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, was named Lord Lieutenant on December 12th, 1700, but his departure was delayed until September, 1701.

the King's death put a stop to the project we do not know, but we hear no more of an Irish coinage in his reign.

The subject of the lesser values in currency leads us to some remarks on the small pieces commonly called Maundy money, and the vexed question as to the groat of 1702, with its puzzling date belonging to a period within the reign of Anne, according to the old style of reckoning, inasmuch as William, dying on March 8th, 1701-2, did not see the beginning of 1702.



GROAT OF 1702.

This die must either have been prepared a few weeks beforehand, as a projected issue of currency or for the bestowal on Thursday, April 2nd, of the Maundy dole. All evidence, so far as I am able to ascertain, tends to prove that the dates in use upon the coinage at this period adhered to the old style, and all thought of the groat's appearance before William's death is therefore discountenanced, but, of course, dies were often sunk in anticipation. For whichever purpose this particular die was engraved, I incline to assign the bulk of these coins to currency rather than to charitable distribution, for the fact that they, although not absolutely common, are not very rare, leads me to believe that they were not struck only as Maundy money by the King's successor. Anne may very likely have made use of them for both purposes, pending the readiness of her own dies, although the still smaller pieces not having been finished, the lack of uniformity must have been apparent, whilst the anomaly of date was unavoidable. There is much evidence that small silver was in regular demand for circulation, and although commonly known to collectors of Stuart and later coins as "Maundy money," it is clear that pieces under sixpence in value are found too frequently to represent solely the gifts presented at Easter-time. Neither can we omit to notice, on the other hand, that

during certain years the necessary doles are not known to us, being either lost or unprovided. Possibly the currency of foregoing dates supplied the deficiency if—and this is uncertain, the distribution always included silver pence to represent the age of the sovereign, besides gold, clothing, and provisions. None of these little coins have been seen bearing William's effigy alone dated 1694–5–6 or 7, and the Maundy distribution of March 21st, 1694–5, would call for the first of these doles, specimens being also required in 1696 and 97. Regarded as currency we should not expect to find pieces dated earlier than 1695, and we might suggest that the objection raised by the workmen to the carrying out of an indenture,¹ ordering that eighteen ounces in every hundred-weight of silver should “be in groats, threepences, twopences and pence,” might account for the hiatus in 1696 and 1697, during the great recoinage, whilst the small total of this metal coined in 1695 would answer for the lack of pieces in the currency of that year.²

It is believed that William took no personal part in the distribution of Maundy gifts, but that they were dispensed by the Lord High Almoner.³ By the courtesy of the Secretary of His Majesty's Almonry, I learn that the form taken by the doles varied at different periods, and that “between 1688 and 1724 the records are rather vague,” but of this more anon, for we must reconsider the subject in our next volume in the light of Anne's part in this matter.

We know that William discarded the ceremony of touching performed by his predecessors on the throne, so that no touchpiece bears his name nor that of his wife, and it was wittily, if somewhat flippantly, said by Miss Strickland that “William the Conqueror and William the Hollander had equally repudiated the claim of healing the sick, because they were too much occupied in killing those who were well.”⁴

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xlii, No. 37.

² See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 247.

³ See article published in *The Guardian* of April 5th, 1893.

⁴ *Queens of England*, vol. viii, p. 199. The attitude of William I. towards “touching” is conjectural, there is, however, as Dr. Raymond Crawford tells us in *The King's Evil*, pp. 21 and 30, lack of evidence of “healing” by him and the immediately succeeding monarchs in England.

It is told of him that only on one occasion did he consent to touch for the "King's Evil," when instead of the usual formula he merely said to the patient: "God give you better health and more sense."¹ When he saw people flocking to Hampton Court, before it was known that he did not claim this "right divine," he ordered their departure with characteristic bluntness: "It is a silly superstition, give the poor creatures some money and send them away."²

William was not easily led by the opinions of others, and we do not know how far the king himself may have sifted matters as regards James Roettier, but it cannot be said that either Neale or Newton pressed the appointment of Croker, or unjustly upheld the claims of Harris as opposed to those of the Roettier family. On the contrary, eighteen months after the disgrace of the cuneator, namely, in August, 1698, in forwarding one of Roettier's complaints concerning himself and those dependent upon him, the Warden and Master remark: "We believe the Petition may be true, and that James Roettier is very capable of making medals, and on that score deserves his Maj^{ty}'s favour."³

We are glad to find this paper minuted "½ a year to be paid."

But even although Newton may personally have deemed the suppliant deserving, he was obliged to hedge him about with precautions while employing him at the mint, as the following letter of October 22nd, 1698, will show: "Sir, Pray let Mr. James Roettiers have the use of the great Crown Press in the long Press-room for coyning Medalls, and let some person you can confide in attend to see that Mr. Roettiers make no other use of the said press or press-room there for coyning Medalls.—To Mr. John Braint, Provost of the Moniers," signed "Is. Newton."⁴

Were it not that the date of this letter brings us just within the

¹ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. iii, p. 480.

² *Ibid.*, and Ernest Law's *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, p. 4.

³ *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1697-1701-2, p. 195, August 18th, 1698, vol. lv, No. 62. See our p. 273.

⁴ Letter quoted from the Tower Records by Mr. Doyne Courtney in *The Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula*, p. 290.

mayoralty at Dublin of Thomas Quin, the successor of Van Homrigh, we might have believed that the medal produced by James Roettier when the "great Crown Press" was placed at his disposal, might be identified with the fine portrait of William III., perhaps the best work of the artist, which was presented, attached to a massive SS collar, in 1698 to the city of Dublin during the period when Bartholomew Van Homrigh was in office. The father of Esther, better known as the unfortunate "Vanessa" of Swift, was himself a Dutch merchant and shipowner from Amsterdam, who had preceded William from Holland and had obtained places of profit, being Alderman of Dublin before the Revolution. He made himself useful to his distinguished fellow countryman as Commissary-General to King William in the Irish army.¹ I find in the *Calendar of Treasury Papers* a request preferred by him stating on January 16th, 1696-7, that he expected to be elected Mayor, and asking the king's permission to accept the office in addition to his duty in the "affairs of the revenue."² The minute "My Lords approve" apparently placed matters on a satisfactory footing, for Van Homrigh was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin on April 16th, 1697, and came into office on October 15th of that year, and three days later, on the 18th-28th of the same month, William at his Court of Loo in Holland, signed and dated, according to the new style, a royal warrant authorizing the making of the collar at his request. "The cost was estimated at £770 and was to be paid out of the Irish revenue," as we learn from a modern writer.³ For the task James Roettier was selected, for the medal was to be "made in England by the most skilful workman or artist in things of that kind." It was to be worn, suspended in the form of a badge, by Van Homrigh and his successors in office, but whether it was finished in time for this civic dignitary long to enjoy it, we cannot say for certain, for his tenure of the post terminated on October 21st, 1698,

¹ *The English Court in Exile*, by Edwin and Marion Grew, p. 207. See also Sir Frederick Falkiner's *Foundation of the Hospital in Dublin*, pp. 116-9.

² *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1697-1701-2, p. 4, vol. xliii, No. 15.

³ *The Foundation of the Hospital of Charles II. in Dublin* by Sir Frederick Falkiner, p. 119. We find therein noted that a surplus remained of £250, and this, in July, 1701 the city voted should be applied to the purchase of three gold chains for the Mayor and Sheriffs of the city in succession. See also *Gilbert's Calendar*, vol. vi, p. viii.

namely, the Friday after Michaelmas-day, that being the date when the change of mayor was usually effected in the Irish capital, at the end of the seventeenth century.¹

We see, however, from various letters printed by Sir John Gilbert in the appendix to his *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, that the matter was somewhat long in hand.² Van Homrigh, on July 3rd, refers to his request for the medal as 'having been made, he must therefore have petitioned the King on the subject whilst only Lord Mayor designate. He states that he is most anxious that the "collar of SS with his majestie's effegies thereon may be got ready and if possible may be here before Michaelmas next." Renewed appeals for speed followed on July 9th, addressed to William's secretary Blathwayt, and produced the warrant from the King, but delay still baffled Van Homrigh, who wrote again on August 20th. However, William's signature on October 18th and finally a warrant from the Irish Lords Justices on November 27th, 1697, made all things sure, and it was ordered that the ornament should be finished and delivered. The fact that the medal bears date 1698 proves that some months elapsed before Van Homrigh finally secured his bauble, but another document, printed by Sir John Gilbert under date July 22nd, 1698, recorded the services of the Lord Mayor in having obtained the gift "without any charge or expence to this city," and the consequent presentation to him of £100 as a mark of Dublin's gratitude.³ We must therefore conclude that the decoration was worn by Bartholomew Van Homrigh.

But why was a chain of office at this time specially desired?

¹ From information kindly supplied by Mr. Burtchaell, Athlone Pursuivant of Arms, and from *Gilbert's Calendar*, vol. i, p. 73, and vol. v, pp. 500 and 519, I learn that Bartholomew Van Homrigh became a member of the Common Council of Dublin about the year 1685, was named an Alderman in the new charter granted to the city by James II., October 27th, 1697, but was removed from office for being absent in England in July, 1689. After the old corporation was restored by William III. he was elected Sheriff, April 24th, 1691, and the same day an Alderman, which excused him from serving as Sheriff, whence his election as Mayor followed in due course.

² Gilbert's *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, vol. vi, Appendix v, pp. 605-9.

³ Gilbert, vol. vi, pp. 199, 200.



THE "DUBLIN MEDAL" OF 1698. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 197, NO. 509.

We learn from the *Medallic Illustrations of British History* that "the collar which Charles II. had presented to the Lord Mayor of Dublin was carried off by Sir Michael Creagh during the contest between William and James,"¹ but the capital of Ireland held out bravely for the latter king until July, 1690, and the recently published *Stuart Papers* show that it was Creagh's successor in office who delivered the chain and medal to the exiled family. We have now before us the information that on September 27th, 1695, James II. sent the following warrant to Sir Terence M'Dermott,² "late Lord Mayor of Dublin": "Whereas the chain or collar and medal of gold belonging to the City of Dublin was delivered to you by Sir William Ellis, chamberlain and treasurer of the said city, when you entered into the Mayoralty, and is now remaining in your hands, and whereas we have not yet determined in whose custody the said chain and medal ought to remain during our absence from our kingdoms, whether in yours as the last Mayor of the city, or in Sir W. Ellis' custody as chamberlain and treasurer thereof, our will and pleasure is that you forthwith deliver them to the said Sir W. Ellis to be deposited in our hands and preserved by us for our said city."³ The further vicissitudes of the original ornament are unknown to me, but we see on our facing plate the type of its remplaçant which King William presented to the Corporation with the new collar, for it was in all respects similar to the silver example which I show from the National Collection.⁴ It is, of course, possible that the king called upon Roettier to make additional

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 197, No. 509. Sir Michael Creagh was Lord Mayor of Dublin from 1688 to 1689, being elected on the second Friday after Easter, 1688, *i.e.*, on April 26th, and it would seem from the document quoted below from the *Stuart Papers* that he must have ceded the collar to his successor, Terence M'Dermott, who was knighted by James II. during his tenure of office on May 14th, 1690. Michael Creagh had received his knighthood in 1686.

² Terence M'Dermott was Lord Mayor of Dublin from 1689 to 1690, being elected on the second Friday after Easter in 1689, *i.e.*, on April 12th.

³ *Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 108; Entry Book 3, p. 77. James would, of course, not recognize appointments made after the City of Dublin fell into the hands of William.

⁴ By the courtesy of Mr. Campbell, Town Clerk of Dublin, I learn that the chain with the portrait attached by a gold ring, smelted on to the medal so as to form a badge, is still worn on special occasions by the Lord Mayor of Dublin.

specimens of this medal, which, as we see, is not unique, although very rare, and a further supply may have been required by William in October, 1698, after the original ornament had been presented.

Amongst the relics of the Roettiers in the British Museum, to which I have so often had occasion to refer, is a large unfinished puncheon portraying William III.—helmeted as a Roman warrior—a not unnatural guise for the victor at the termination of the war in a time when classical emblems reigned supreme.



PUNCHEON FOR A HELMETED MEDAL OF WILLIAM III.

So far as our knowledge takes us, no completed version of this design exists, and in our uncertainty as to the precise day or even month of James Roettier's death, we are tempted to wonder whether he expired before his dies were ready, and was therefore unable to profit by Newton's permission of access to the mint. The workmanship of this puncheon bespeaks the hand of James Roettier, and its presence in the collection makes it almost certain that we owe it to him, for his father would design no portrait of William, even if we could pronounce it good enough for attribution to him. No reverse presents itself, and this is also the case with regard to a similarly unfinished puncheon of Mary, a design which I take the opportunity of placing before you as a possible, although unlikely, complement to the obverse representing her husband at so late a date.



PUNCHEON FOR A MEDAL OF MARY.

There is yet another portrait of William III. executed after the Mint Enquiry had robbed the engraver of his position of cuneator, which, after comparison with many specimens of the artist's work, Mr. Grueber and I, in consultation, decided should be tentatively



CLICHÉ OF WILLIAM III., 1697, COMMEMORATING THE PEACE OF RYSWICK.

ascribed to James Roettier. It forms one of the series of silver clichés published by Mr. Grueber in the Appendix to *Medallic Illustrations of British History*,¹ and I gave my reasons in our seventh volume² for thinking that we see in it the effort of James Roettier to regain the royal favour by exalting the king as the restorer of peace. The workmanship of this silver plaque, and its likeness in point of portraiture to the Dublin medal, render this attribution justifiable, and we may wonder whether it achieved its object in attracting William's attention, and obtained for the medallist the order for Van Homrigh's decoration.

It is apparent that James Roettier, chosen for so important a commission, had not entirely lost all court favour, and had he not died before the end of the year 1698,³ he might possibly have regained his official position.

James Roettier, like King William, succumbed to the effects of a fall from his horse,⁴ from which, according to J. H. Burn, and Walpole, from whom the former probably derived his information,⁵ he "received some hurt," and, "retiring to Bromley for the air, took cold and died there," leaving his wife and children dependent upon their grandfather.⁶ After his death the appeals of his father became quite pathetic, as he pressed for the payment of the annuity granted to him and his brothers by Charles II. He states that there were due to them on their "pençon of four hundred and fifty pounds p. Ann Two Yeares and halfe Arrears, Ending at Christmas last past." The paper is accompanied by a certificate dated November 27th, 1700, signed by Charles Montagu, stating that Roettier had been paid until "Midsummer 1696 and no farther." The suggestion, however, comes from the Treasury that "Joseph and Philip having withdrawn themselves," John should

¹ Plate CLXXXIII, No. 6.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, pp. 260-1.

³ The date of James Roettier's death is always given as 1698, and he died as we have seen (p. 266) later than the 22nd of October in that year; but whether he survived the beginning of the year '99, according to new style, I have not been able to ascertain.

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, pp. 56 and 185.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 185, and Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 185.

⁶ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxi, No. 22, *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1697-1701, p. 437, undated petition of John Roettier, which must have been presented, some time, in the first half of the year 1699.

receive only £250 per annum "as tho' he be now the sole survivor of the three brothers," the larger sum having been granted during their "joint naturall Lives," with the proviso that £100 should be deducted on the death of each of the patentees.¹ John Roettier prays for help on the plea that James his son "is lately dead," and that he had "no Estate or Employment whereby to maintain himself, Wife,² children and seven small Grand children and their Mother"³; and states that he is "disabled in his hands by reason of his extraordinary Service to his Mat^{ies} Mint, and especially upon the altera^{ti}on of the Coyne."

This statement leads us to wonder whether John Roettier did in truth consent at the beginning of William and Mary's reign to work for the new Government, or sufficiently recover from his earlier illness to take any part in the great recoinage, but in face of the assertions made by his sons that they executed the dies in 1689-90,⁴ and the report in the House of Commons in 1696-7 that he would not "do any one thing as Graver since the Revolution,"⁵ it would seem that he referred merely to the institution of the milled coinage under Charles II. The question of his disablement, whether permanent or temporary, has been discussed by us before,⁶ but Vertue's remark on his continued residence in this country, bespeaks an intermittent rather than a total disability, for he says that whilst "refusing to be employed in the service of King William, tho' required and importuned by several

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxi, No. 22.

² John Roettier had in the year 1658 married Catharine Prot, by whom he had five daughters besides the three sons, John (born 1661), James (born 1663), to whom this paper has principally referred, and Norbert (born *circa* 1665).

³ According to the pedigree given by Mr. Burn in *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 189, James Roettier was the father of five daughters and one son, James, born at Bromley in 1698, who eventually succeeded his uncle Philip at the Antwerp Mint. We have, however, another record of the seventh child mentioned in the above petition, for James Roettier in a former memorial, *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lv, No. 62, speaks of his "wife and seaven small children."

⁴ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. iv, p. 25.

⁵ *Commons' Journals*, vol. xi, p. 776. It is somewhat significant that although the payment of two engravers is given by Guy Miede in his *New State of England*, published in 1693, in his list of the Mint officers he only mentions Henry Harris as graver.

⁶ *Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 231-3, and vol. vii, p. 255.

persons of quality he lived here some years after and wrought for himself."¹

It is always reported that John Roettier retired temporarily to a house of his own in Red Lion Square, but at precisely what date and whether by choice or of necessity is not quite clear. Walpole says that Lord Lucas, the Governor of the Tower, placed a guard round his residence there, and "made him so uneasy that he was glad to quit his habitation :"² but the *Commons' Journals* affirm on April 8th, 1697, that the elder Roettier "still continued in the Graver's House in the Tower,"³ and one of the entries in the *Treasury Papers*, under date July 6th, 1697, shows that the question was not yet decided by the authorities as to whether he "should still be allowed habitation in the Mint."⁴

That his exodus occurred prior to August 18th, 1698, is, however, proved by a memorial from himself and his son, stating "That John Roettier is very aged and the other Petiçon^r, James hath a wife and seaven small children and no Employment at present by meanes whereof," [to live] "as alsoe by haveing in obedience to your Lordships order removed from their house in the Tower, and by their numerous families obliged to be at the extraordinary charge for hiring two houses, your Petiçoners are reduced to very great streights."⁵

Here, then, we must leave John Roettier for the present until we find him again in the reign of Queen Anne.

It now only remains to be considered how far the monarch's character and personality influenced the medals and coinage. We might have expected that he who loved Holland, and only valued England as her auxiliary, would have imported his own Dutch medallists and given them the chief posts at the Mint, but such was not the case, and we have seen that he made no attempt to displace those in office, so that even when a change became necessary

¹ Vertue's MS., *Brit. Mus.*, Add. 23,069, f. 37.

² Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 186.

³ *Commons' Journals*, vol. xi, p. 776.

⁴ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xlvi, No. 43.

⁵ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lv, No. 62.

the new engraver was a German, not a Dutchman. Excepting in building and gardening, resulting from his desire to make himself a country home like his much-loved palace at Loo, he did little to affect the arts in Great Britain, and often as he is accused of favouritism towards his own countrymen, he generally made use for this purpose of artists already domiciled in England.

Let us turn for a moment to the story of his palace at Hampton Court, the residence in which, for William's sake, Mary took so great an interest, that with characteristic heart searching she attributed the subsidence of one of the walls to God's anger at her impatience, rather than to the defective structure of the building.¹ In William's patronage of gardening and architecture we find the only examples of any leaning towards art. Truly, it is a formal taste, the taste of his time, which comes before us—and yet we thank him for his formal gardening, the planting of chestnuts in Bushey Park, and above all for his Dutch love of flowers—although in its development he converted into a suburban villa the beautiful palace of Wolsey and Henry VIII., already so much admired for its fountains and maze by Evelyn, when prepared for the arrival of Catharine of Braganza, the bride of Charles II.² The weak health of the King made his residence outside the town imperative, a well-known fact, corroborated by Mary in her diary, thus: "The misfortune of the King's health, which hindered him being at Whitehall, put people out of humour, being here naturally lazy."³ It was, indeed, one of the many causes of his unpopularity, and his ministers resented the ten or twelve miles of bad road which lay between them and him. Lord Halifax told Sir John Reresby that he had begged the King "to lye sometimes in town and that his Answer was, 'It was not to be done except his Lordship desired to see him dead,' which, said my Lord, was a very short Answer."⁴ But the general dissatisfaction with

¹ Doebner's *Memoirs of Mary Queen of England*, p. 17.

² Evelyn's *Diary*, June 9th, 1662, ed. 1827, vol. ii, p. 192. The diarist, however, finds room for criticism. "All these gardens might be exceeding improved as being too narrow for such a palace."

³ Doebner, p. 15.

⁴ Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 348.

the loss of five or six hours a day in transit, was so serious to members of the Government¹ that William commanded also the preparation of Kensington Palace. The decoration of these two great houses gave scope for the employment of such eminent men as he found at hand—Wren, Verrio, Godfrey Kneller, and Grinling Gibbon. Wren had a difficult task to perform in endeavouring to assimilate new rooms with the fine old Tudor palace of Hampton Court, and was, as we are told, further hampered by the King's individual pronouncements, for he had no real understanding of art.² Dallaway, the editor of Walpole, tells us that he was "assured by a descendant of Sir Christopher that he gave another design for Hampton Court in a better taste, which Queen Mary wished to have executed, but was overruled."³ Be this as it may, we can but regret that William caused portions of the most interesting parts of the old building to be destroyed, which had survived from the time of Henry VIII. Whether we now admire the paintings of Verrio or not, they were then held in high esteem and suited the style of the day, and none can fail to appreciate the carvings of Grinling Gibbon, or the beauty of the fine gates and screen of wrought iron designed by Jean Tijou.⁴ It is a sign of the discrimination of the King that he caused a special room to be built at Hampton Court adequately to display the Raphael cartoons, which had for long lain rolled up in dust and mould,⁵ and although it may be to the accident

¹ *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, p. 12, and Macaulay, vol. iii, p. 58.

² *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, p. 6.

³ Walpole, vol. ii, p. 177, note 1.

⁴ Mr. Law tells us in his *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, pp. 54-60, that these gates, once entirely attributed to Huntingdon Shaw, are now known to have been designed by Jean Tijou, a Frenchman, said to have been introduced to William by Daniel Marot, the prince's architect in Holland, who assisted in making plans for the garden.

⁵ The Raphael cartoons are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. It is noticeable that Evelyn, on June 9th, 1662, mentions the "incomparable furniture" at Hampton Court, "especially hangings designed by Raphael very rich with gold," etc. It therefore appears that in the time of Charles II., tapestries made after these cartoons were in the palace, but Evelyn's statement is confused. The hangings now replacing in the galleries the cartoons removed to the Museum in 1865, were presented to the Crown in 1905. The original cartoons, purchased by Charles I., were reserved by Cromwell from the public sale of the King's goods.

of his weakly constitution, which caused him to dread confinement within four walls, that we are forced to trace the love of fresh air which made "Dutch William" foster the growth of trees and flowers; to his credit it is held that the plan of the gardens at Hampton Court was "devised by the king himself."¹ Verrio,² it is said, at first refused to work for the house of Orange, being a Catholic and a loyal adherent to James II., until "at last," as Walpole has it, "by persuasion of Lord Exeter he consented to serve King William and was sent to Hampton Court, where amongst other things he painted the grand staircase as ill as if he had spoiled it on principle."³ Grinling Gibbon was master-carver both in wood and stone, whilst another sculptor, Caius Gabriel Cibber, is the first Dutchman of whom we hear in connection with the work.⁴ Kneller was called upon by Mary to paint his "Beauties," and for his services the King conferred a knighthood, besides a medal and chain worth £300, upon him, and "as an extraordinary mark of his grace and favour, honour'd him with the present of the sword by the hands of the Lord Chamberlain."⁵

But whilst we enumerate the changes brought about in William's reign, we must remember that when he died, Anne had to pay for many things ordered by him, and we might call attention to the fact that if the earlier Stuarts were constantly blamed for non-payment of their bills, many instances are cited by Mr. Law in his *History of Hampton Court Palace* of demands for arrears made upon Anne after William's death.⁶ We must, however, bear in mind the statement of the master-bricklayer, Richard Stacey, that, "part of the work was

¹ *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, p. 20, quoting Defoe's *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*.

² Antonio Verrio, born at Lecce in South Italy in 1639 (?), died at Hampton Court in 1707, having been employed to a considerable extent by the English monarchs from Charles II. to Anne.

³ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. ii, p. 121.

⁴ Caius Gabriel Cibber, born in Holland in 1630, lived many years in England and died in 1700. He was the father of Colley Cibber, the actor.

Vertue MS., *Brit. Mus.*, Add. 23,069, f. 13b, Kneller was knighted on March 3rd, 1691-2. He was later granted an annuity of £200 by William on June 7th, 1695.

⁶ *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, pp. 174-7.

finished in her present Ma^{ty's} reign, although directed by the late King."¹

A rather striking example of Kneller's contributions towards the adornment of the buildings carried out by William, is the portrait of the King in Chelsea Hospital, where the unfinished work, begun by Charles II. at the request, as tradition states, of Nell Gwynne, was still in process of completion.² This picture, one of the fine series representing our monarchs, gives the beholder a better idea of William's appearance than the majority of his presentments, because the artist makes no attempt to endow him with a height which he did not possess. Not unnaturally, perhaps, we find in the Dutch galleries a larger selection of portraits from which to form a true notion of the Prince of Orange than we have in public collections in England, but, on the whole, I should say that after his accession the English artists were more favourable to the King, and certainly the pleasantest miniature of him, exhibited in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, is attributed to an Englishman, Lawrence (sometimes called Lewis) Cross.³ As a young man there are interesting busts and pictures of him in Holland, whilst in private galleries in our own country Dutch artists are well represented, and perhaps renderings of his features by Netscher,⁴ Verkolje,⁵ and Schalcken⁶ are the more characteristic. It is to Caspar Netscher that we owe the portrait at Rotterdam brought before us on our facing plate, and we notice the heavy mass of dark hair bringing into vivid contrast the pallid complexion of the Prince. By the courtesy of

¹ *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, p. 175.

² Chelsea Hospital was opened in 1694.

³ "L. Cross," as I learn from Mr. Goulding that the artist himself signed his name, was formerly called Lewis Crosse, spelt with a final e by Walpole and others. He is now usually believed to have borne the Christian name of Lawrence. He was born *circa* 1650 and died in 1724.

⁴ Caspar Netscher was born at Heidelberg in 1639, and died at The Hague in 1684, having resided there since 1660.

⁵ Johannes Verkolje was born at Amsterdam in 1650, and died at Delft in 1698. He was a painter of small portraits and also a mezzotint engraver.

⁶ Godfried Schalcken was born at Dortrecht in 1643, and died in 1706, having passed the greater part of his life in Holland, but he did make one visit to England, where, however, his success was small. A portrait of William by him was illustrated in our last volume.



WILLIAM III. AS PRINCE OF ORANGE, BOYMANS MUSEUM, ROTTERDAM.

Mr. Richard Goulding, librarian to the Duke of Portland, I understand that this picture is very similar to a small whole-length by the same artist, dated 1674, in the Duke of Portland's collection at Welbeck Abbey, which abounds in mementoes of this king. There is a very striking although ugly picture by Schalcken, at the Rijks Museum, showing William with a strong illumination thrown upon his face from a candle held in his hand. For this purpose, according to Walpole, Godfried Schalcken made the King hold the light "till the tallow ran down upon his fingers."¹ The strength of his physiognomy is cleverly, if not pleasingly, marked, and is well brought out by this trick of shading to which the painter was much addicted. The portrait with which we are all perhaps most familiar is the full-length representation in gorgeous robes, to be found not only in private houses such as Welbeck, but in public places such as the London Museum, the Inner Temple, and, reduced to half-length, in various reproductions, or to head and shoulders as in the small copper example which formed the frontispiece in our last volume. The companion miniature of Mary takes the same place of honour in our present issue, and I should like to say here that I think my somewhat too hasty acceptance of an attribution as regards these small copper versions of Kneller's portraits to Simon du Bois, gives way before comparison with other paintings by this artist of William and Mary, of which Mr. Goulding has kindly favoured me with photographs from Welbeck.

Famous in the domain of art as was the country from which William came, it is curious how little beauty he imported to England. Holland had but lately passed her zenith both in painting and etching, and the time was still remembered when masters, such as Rembrandt, excelled with the burin as with the brush.² Landscape and genre pictures had come into vogue, but it would be out of place here to enumerate the painters of grouped portraits or of single figures for which Holland had become famous, or even the noted artists whom she had lent to England since the days of William's grandfather.

¹ Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 232.

² Rembrandt's most vivid etchings are of about the period of William's birth. Rembrandt died in October, 1669.

But far from bringing beautiful things into his acquired kingdom from the land of his birth, our Dutch ruler removed to his palace at Loo various treasures, including some fine sixteenth-century tapestry of the time of Edward VI. This was, perhaps, the greatest sign he ever gave of any talent as a connoisseur, for, curiously enough, the large collection of Dutch pictures now at Buckingham Palace was not formed by him, and one of the treasures in the Mauritshuis at The Hague is a masterpiece by Gerard Dou,¹ which had been presented to Charles II. on his Restoration, and passed from the possession of James II. into his son-in-law's hands.

But William was not wholly to blame in his lack of appreciation of the more peaceful arts, for towards the end of the seventeenth century in Holland, as in England, some decadence was perceptible, and the golden age of the Netherlands terminated just as it did in our own country, with the imported influence of the ornate taste prevalent at the court of Louis XIV., when simplicity gave way to excessive ornamentation. Again we might suggest, with Ruding, that although the Prince had received a good education and should, from association with the best examples of painting in his native land, have understood the arts, "the genius of William III. directed his attention to glory of a far different kind from that which is to be acquired by their advancement."² We may add that the desire to emulate the Roman or classic dress, as we find it represented on statues, monuments, and medals, tended to increase as the century progressed, and certainly a laurel crown, typical of martial distinction, was more appropriate to William than to others amongst his predecessors or contemporaries.

An example of such a bust, which might almost be mistaken for one of the Cæsars, is by the courtesy of Mr. J. W. G. Bond, here illustrated. It is made of lead and stands over the entrance of Creech Grange, Dorsetshire, where it no doubt commemorates the addition of

¹ Gerard Dou, born April 7th, 1613, at Leyden, where he was buried on February 9th, 1674-5, is well known as a painter of carefully finished pictures, painted usually on a small scale.

² Ruding, vol. ii, p. 61.

a classical front to a much older building in the beginning of the eighteenth century.



LEADEN BUST OF WILLIAM III. AT CREECH GRANGE.

It is quite startling to find the noted warrior portrayed by a modern German artist, Herr Bäucke, in civil garb, as is his statue presented to the late King Edward VII., in 1907 by the German Emperor, William II., which now adorns the garden in front of Kensington Palace. William of Orange there appears in the ordinary dress of his time with hat and feathers, instead of the usual armour and crown of bays, and the artist appears to have thrown convention to the winds in rejecting the ancient tradition. Contemporary statues of this king are few in England; even that in St. James's Square owing its origin to a legacy of one Samuel Travers, bequeathed in 1724 but not carried into effect until 1806, when the money was discovered amongst some unclaimed dividends.¹ It was then entrusted to one of the sons of John Bacon the sculptor,² who was commissioned to produce a bronze effigy, which was finished in 1808, the pedestal having waited for

¹ See *The Squares of London*, by Edwin Beresford Chancellor, p. 104, and *The History of St. James's Square*, by Arthur Dasent, pp. 52, 59, and 60.

² According to Mr. Dasent and to Mr. Chancellor (see *Lives of the British Sculptors*, p. 208), the work was entrusted to the younger John Bacon—the *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions the name of his brother Thomas.

many years.¹ The erection of such a monument had been intermittently discussed from 1697 onward,² and during the course of years the idea of substituting a figure of George I. had been advocated in 1721 by the Chevalier de David, who wished to model such a portrait himself³; but William carried the day. The equestrian statue in Dublin was unveiled with great pomp and ceremony on College Green on July 1st, 1701, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.⁴ It was produced at the cost of £800, according to a contract drawn up in April, 1700, with Grinling Gibbon, the payments to be made in instalments of £200 each, and has, I believe, been represented upon Orange and centenary medals—but these are revivals with which we have no immediate interest. The statue at Bristol was erected in 1736.

Concerning contemporary memorial medals I have not much to chronicle, but I am permitted to bring before you, from the National Collection, one of the most striking.

It was believed to be from the hand of Jan Luder, but it is unsigned, and its exact resemblance to John Croker's "State of Britain Medal," facing our page 243, might justify the suggestion that it was amongst his rare efforts to produce a portrait of William on so large a scale. It consists of two gold plates united by a rim, and was purchased in 1878 by the late Sir Augustus, then Mr., Franks, from the descendants of one Jeremiah Scott, of Ballingarry, County Tipperary, who "was present at the Battle of the Boyne and received a gold medal from King

¹ According to Robert Seymour's continuation of *Stow's Survey of London*, published in 1733, the pedestal, designed for William's statue, stood at that date in the centre of a large ornamental basin of water seven feet deep. (See vol. ii, book v, p. 663.) In *Stripe's* map, given in the edition of 1720, no such pond appears, and a pathway is marked as running through the Square. (See vol. ii, chap. 6, p. 81.) It is therefore clear that these alterations were made on the death of Travers.

² *Luttrell's Diary*, vol. iv, p. 316, December, 1697. "The King's statue in brasse is ordered to be sett up in St. James's Square with several devices and mottoes trampling down popery, breaking the chains of bondage, slavery, etc."

³ *The Squares of London*, by Edwin Beresford Chancellor, p. 104, and *The History of St. James's Square*, as above, p. 51.

⁴ *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, by John Gilbert, vol. vi, p. ix, Preface, and the *Foundation of the Hospital*, by Sir Frederick Falkiner, p. 120.

William III."¹ It was thought by the family that this was the badge in question, but in spite of the reverse so typical of the battlefield—the obverse memorial inscription, as was remarked by the distinguished authors of *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, precludes our believing this to have been the case. I would, however, suggest the possibility that the loyal adherent received or ordered from Croker this remembrance of the King upon his death in 1702, and that the gold



MEMORIAL OF WILLIAM III. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 219, NO. 545.

"Battle of the Boyne" medal was originally uniface and was combined, as the reverse² with an obverse made on King William's death for this purpose. Otherwise we must regret that the presentation gold medal has disappeared. It is, however, possible that the grant of land immediately followed the services rendered by Scott, and that the medallion was only promised by William and finished after his decease.

Although William had devoted adherents, mostly of Dutch origin, we seldom find amongst the English that feeling of affection for

¹ Scott's *Memorials of the Scotts of Scot's Hall*, published 1876, at which time the King's gift was said to be "in the possession of J. J. Scott, *b.* Feb. 20, 1807." Jeremiah Scott "went to Ireland with William and settled there." See also *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 220.

² With this theory the emblems represented on the reverse of the medal agree.

him which existed towards his grandfather, and we look in vain for the sentiment which prompted Prince Rupert, as a boy in prison, to carve from memory a portrait of his uncle Charles I. on a peachstone, which became an heirloom to be treasured in the home of his descendants;¹ and the loyalty toward the exiled family, which encased a memorial in the privacy of a locket or tiny box, was not felt in England, where the House of Orange was concerned. We do, indeed, find an excellent bust of William III. carved on a walnut shell in the British Museum, but the companion portrait of George I. proves that the little works of art were not contemporaneous with the earlier of these two kings. Portrait-boxes were made, probably after William's death, by Obrisset² and others, and we also notice an enamel by William Craft³ in the National Collection. Obrisset was noted for his medallions in horn and tortoiseshell and I have described some of his work in our earlier volumes, but he appears to have turned his attention less to William than to Anne, in whose reign we find signed and dated pieces by him. To his hand, however, may, perhaps, be due an oval tortoiseshell plaque in the Duke of Portland's collection which, as I understand, closely resembles the silver plaque which I illustrated facing page 256 in our seventh volume. The fact that it is hollow, like the medallion, might, on the other hand, suggest that, instead of a copy by Obrisset, it might be a trial piece made by Norbert Roettier; for Obrisset's horn boxes usually present an even surface on the reverse.⁴ It is interesting to know that at the back of the Welbeck specimen, in the handwriting of the Swiss tutor to the sons of the first Duke of Portland, the words are written, "An

¹ I am informed that this stone is discernible as painted in the hat of the Prince Palatine in a portrait in the same family's possession, the ornament having been given by Prince Rupert to his father, who always wore it. Rupert was taken prisoner by the Austrians at Vlotho on the Weser and remained three years at Linz before recovering his liberty, in 1641.

² For Obrisset see *Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 277-8, vol. vii, p. 231, note 2, and p. 260, note 1.

³ William Craft was an enamellist of the eighteenth century. See *Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. vi, p. 282.

⁴ The existence of this plaque has come to my knowledge since I published my articles in our former volumes.

Eccellent Picture of King William."¹ The faience—the new fancy of the day—was less complimentary, and sometimes a grotesque endeavour to reproduce the features of the monarch upon pieces of pottery, such as a plate from Delft or a Fulham-ware mug,² meets our eye, but excepting in Ulster, where Orange memorials abound, sentimental recollections of William are more the exception than the rule, for he was not beloved by his English subjects, and relations between himself and his successor had been rather strained. Mary had strong differences of opinion with her sister, and her husband had not been able to steer quite clear of the quarrel, although, as she herself tells us, "the King thought it an ungenerous thing to fall out with a woman, and went and told her so, upon which she said he should find by her behaviour she would never give him cause."³ This seeming humility did not much affect Anne's conduct towards Mary during the queen's lifetime, but on her death, peace was re-established, although but little love was lost on either side, and William was mourned by few.

The lack of artistic merit in the majority of the King's medals gives us little cause to regret that a larger number were not specially designed for memorial purposes.

A small portrait by Christian Wermuth,⁴ one of a series of counters, is fairly representative of William's features, but absurdly eulogistic in the wording of the legend, which reads EST PIVS QVAM PERFECTVM.



MEMORIAL OF WILLIAM III. BY CHRISTIAN WERMUTH.

MED. ILL., VOL. II, P. 224, NO. 552.

¹ The second Earl of Portland was created Duke in 1716—the information is therefore no doubt that of one who had seen the late king.

² A large dish from which Prince Charlie is said to have eaten oat-cake at a farmhouse on the retreat from Culloden is, by the irony of circumstances, so decorated, and various examples are to be seen in the London Museum.

³ Doebner's *Memoirs of Mary Queen of England*, p. 18.

⁴ Christian Wermuth was born at Altenburg in 1661, and died at Gotha in 1723. He was engraver to the mint in the latter city and was a very prolific medallist.

MDCCII. The portrait had originally appeared in commemoration of the Peace of Ryswick¹ in 1697, and was utilized in 1701–2 with fresh reverses, one merely stating the respective dates and places of the King's birth and death,² whilst the other, as the above suggests, signified that his virtues were more highly appreciated abroad than in England.

Such memorials as exist usually bear old busts, and perhaps the most pleasing amongst them is the portrait of the King by Boskam, which had appeared so early as 1692, with a horrible reverse, representing the execution of Grandval, the intended assassin,³ and was frequently utilized on subsequent occasions, too many for mention. I selected for illustration, on page 253 of our seventh volume, one specimen which commemorates the death of Mary,⁴ and on the demise of William this head reappeared, with a reverse showing forth the eagle, a favourite type of this warlike King, flying to his rest, the sun setting in the heavens.⁵ It is a good example of the highly strained flattery of the day, and this bust gives William a less haggard expression than usual,



MEDAL OF THE RECAPTURE OF NAMUR. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 132, NO. 384.

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 173, Nos. 459 and 460.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 225, No. 553.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 76, No. 288. See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, p. 245, note 4.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 107, No. 336.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 222, No. 549.

and was perhaps popular on that account. It is, however, not so instinct with life, being probably less like the King than another of Boskam's presentments, which I have the pleasure of reproducing from the National Collection, and which commemorates the retaking of Namur.

The reverse of the above is by no means alone in bringing William before us as a horseman, and we cannot but regret that the equestrian type so characteristic of this King should not have been



MEDAL OF WILLIAM III., PRINCE OF ORANGE, STADTHOLDER.
MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 552, NO. 211.

revived upon the half-crowns. From his earlier years, as we saw in our seventh volume,¹ the Prince of Orange was portrayed on horseback, and the medal illustrated above and struck in 1672 in celebration of his attainment to the dignity of Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral-General of the United Provinces, would, with slight modification, have made an admirable device for a half-crown.

Such a revival would have carried us back to the days of Charles I., but although William very naturally strove to accentuate his Stuart descent, it is curious how seldom we find a combination in portraiture of grandfather and grandson in medalllic form. We might have expected to find medals portraying William III. on the obverse and Charles I. on the reverse, for this practice survived to the days of Anne, and we have noticed the combined portraiture of his childhood

¹ Vol. vii, plate facing page 202, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 472, No. 75; see also *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 471, No. 74.

with his parents or with Charles II.¹ I received the description of a brass plaque, a portrait of William, the measurement of which agrees with a similar bust of Charles I. in my collection, of early eighteenth-century workmanship, but not having been able to compare them I cannot pronounce that they were intended for a pair. Apart from medallic work, I have, however, in a former article,² called attention to a remarkable marble bust of Charles, which was, no doubt, made in the reign of William, as is proved by the companion effigy representing the latter king. The portrait of the English grandfather is, we must believe, a copy of the celebrated lost marble executed by Bernini in 1638, and destroyed at the Whitehall fire, whilst the fellow to this fine work is an interesting and original representation of the Dutch grandson, which, by the kindness of the owner of both busts, Mr. Laurence Currie, I was able to illustrate in our last volume.³ Judging from the inscription, D · F · A · GUILIELMO · HENRICO · D · G · P · ARAUSIO · BELG · GUB · M · BRIT · R · FIDEI · LIBERTATISQ · VINDICI · 1689, the artist wished to mark the fact that William upheld the Church, which had suffered an eclipse at the death of Charles. But this is perhaps straining a point, for, although the champion of the Protestant cause, the new king was a strong Calvinist, and considered episcopal government too latitudinarian. Mary, on the other hand, in spite of impartial attendance, whilst in Holland, at services according to English or Dutch rites, was extremely glad when circumstances enabled her definitely to resume the practice of her religion as learnt in her girlhood.

I have said, giving my opinion for what it is worth, that of all the medallic portraits of William III. I consider the Dublin medal to be the finest,⁴ but many of those designed by the other artists patronized by this King present well-executed busts, and one of the best is the *Triumphant Entry into The Hague*, by Jan Smeltzing, illustrated in our seventh volume on page 220.⁵

¹ *Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. vii, pp: 202-5.

² *Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. v, p. 200, with illustration.

³ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, facing p. 218.

⁴ See p. 267 and plate facing p. 268.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 7, No. 163.



LUDER'S MEDAL ON THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE. *JED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 55, NO. 250.

We may also cite, in spite of the bad taste which marks its reverse—namely, a Gallic cock flung before the British lion—Jan Boskam's rare *Battle of la Hogue* medal,¹ of which when the die cracked, a hasty and slightly differing reproduction was made in rather rougher style by the same artist.² I select the latter for illustration from the National Collection, in that it bears a more intelligent-looking likeness of the King than the majority of his medallic presentments. This naval battle was still better commemorated by Luder, as seen on our facing plate, but although some of the busts are good and well executed nearly all the medallic



BOSKAM'S MEDAL ON THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 53, NO. 248.

work of the period is marred by the weakness or vulgarity of the reverse types, as in Boskam's medal above illustrated.

William's personal appearance has been described by a modern Dutch writer,³ who calls this Prince of the House of Orange "a grand but solitary figure, more imposing than attractive." Professor Petrus Blok pictures from contemporary canvases by Netscher and Blooteling, and from the pen portraits of William's secretary Huygens, "the oblong face framed by long locks, with the piercing glance, the long Stuart nose,⁴ the imperious attitude, weakly stooping, simply dressed upon his

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 54, No. 249.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 53, No. 248, here illustrated.

³ Blok's *History of the Dutch People*, vol. iv, p. 400.

⁴ The nose of William was more aquiline than those of his Stuart relations, but the majority of the family had large noses.

strong horse." William was absolutely at his best on horseback, and lost the stiffness of demeanour which usually made him appear awkward, and our facing plate, from his lifelike presentment in the National Portrait Gallery, and thought to be probably from the brush of Jan Wyck,¹ is but one of many equestrian portraits. Amongst them we should call attention to the large allegorical picture at Hampton Court, said to represent William landing at Margate in 1697, and painted by Kneller in 1701, which is, however, neither pleasing nor true to life in that it magnifies his proportions unduly. Medallically we often find him seated upon his horse and habited as a Roman general—and I bring before you a Dutch presentment more rare than



MEDAL ON THE PACIFICATION OF IRELAND. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 722, NO. 147.

beautiful.² Again we see him on his "Entry into Dublin" on a medal from the hand of Jan Luder,³ an obverse which the artist had already used as the reverse in commemorating the Battle of the Boyne,⁴ and Arondeaux also produced William's equestrian figure crossing the river on the same occasion at the head of his troops.⁵

¹ Jan Wijck, commonly called in England Wyck or Wyke, was born at Haarlem, *circa* 1640. He died at Mortlake in 1702. He was usually a painter of equestrian and battle scenes. There is, however, another half-length picture of William III. by him in the same gallery.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 722, No. 147.

³ July 6th–16th, 1690, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 721, No. 145.

⁴ July 1st–11th, 1690, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 715, No. 134, and p. 716, No. 135.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 716 and 717, Nos. 136, 137, and 138.



Photograph by Emery Walker.

WILLIAM III. AT THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

But to return to the analysis of the Prince's character by his compatriot, who calls him one of "the best representatives of the Dutch national type."¹ "Energetic, alert, ambitious, crafty, resourceful, persistent, rough, inflexible, hard, mistrustful, he was all that, and furthermore taciturn and reserved owing to the pitiful circumstances of his life during the decisive years of his youth." "Intellectually a giant," so he tells us, in his early manhood in Holland was "the coughing youth, to whom the entire nation now looked up as to its rescuer from dire distress," and if "not ideally gifted" he was yet possessed of "clear judgment, healthy understanding" and an "excellent memory."

He was, to epitomize the careful parallel between James II. and William III. drawn by a modern writer,² a ruler who made his dependants lean upon him; and who did not rely upon them, as his father-in-law had done, to his ruin. "His accomplices at first," says this author, "his servants later, were made to understand that they depended upon him, while he never suffered himself to be influenced by them." On the other hand, "King James thought to bind men to him by ties of gratitude, and was cruelly betrayed by those upon whom he had heaped his greatest benefits."

In his government of Holland and in that of England he was ready, it is true, to overlook the maladministration of his tools so long as they would obey him blindly,³ and one great blot upon his fame in countenancing the massacre of Glencoe⁴ is paralleled by the fact that

¹ Blok's *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. iv, p. 400, translated by Oscar Bierstadt.

² Martin Haile in *James Francis Edward*, p. 40.

³ Blok, pp. 444 and 445.

⁴ The massacre of Glencoe, on February 13th, 1692, was not perpetrated during one of Mary's regencies, and William cannot be wholly exonerated even by Macaulay. No steps whatever were taken at the time to punish the perpetrators, but the Secretary of State, John Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, some years afterwards retired from office in deference to public opinion, expressed during the *Enquiry* of 1695, and when some six months later he succeeded to his father's title he refrained for a considerable time from taking his seat in the House of Lords. Albeit blamed by the Commission of Enquiry, this censure was "remitted" by William, and Stair was made a Privy Councillor by Anne, finally to be promoted to an Earldom. See *Political History of England*, vol. viii, pp. 336-9, and compare Macaulay, vol. iv, pp. 198-217, with Brown's *History of the*

although absent, and therefore not personally responsible for the murder of the brothers De Witt, "he did not punish the crime on account of the number and position of the guilty men! What is worse, he rewarded the shameless offenders, and consequently did not hesitate to assume the appearance of approving their actions, even of complicity in their crime."¹

So little did William care about his English kingdom, that when thwarted in 1698 by the Houses of Parliament in his wish to retain his Dutch guards, he threatened his ministers to return permanently to his native country, and was with difficulty restrained by Somers from this course.² William's was a strong character and his strength lay, as Burnet tells us, "rather in the true discerning of a sound judgment than in imagination or invention." The Bishop calls him "an exact observer of men and of things," and speaks of his "memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him," and says that "he spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his character at all times, except in the day of battle, for then he was all fire, though without passion, he was then everywhere, and looked at everything."³ We have the King's own word for it, when rejoicing at the outset of the Irish campaign, that he would rather face the cannon's mouth than the House of Commons, and according to Burnet, "he instructed his own ministers himself, but he did not apply himself enough to affairs at home, he tried how he could govern us by balancing the two parties one against another, but he came at last to be persuaded that the Tories were irreconcilable to him, and he was resolved to try and trust them no more."⁴

Highlands, vol. ii, pp. 211-26. Strickland's *Queens*, vol. vii, pp. 350, 351, *A Century of Scottish History*, by Sir Henry Craig, vol. i, pp. 15-22, and *Dictionary of National Biography*. See also Ralph's *History of England*, vol. ii, pp. 570-7.

¹ Blok, vol. iv, p. 396. On August 20th, *n.s.*, 1672, Cornelius and John de Witt were torn to pieces by a mob of the Prince's party at The Hague.

² *Royal House of Stuart*, vol. ii, pp. 435, 436.

³ Burnet, vol. iv, p. 568.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 563, 564, see also *Mother of Parliaments*, p. 83, by Henry Graham, who writes: "William had begun by convening mixed cabinets, of Whigs and Tories, but in 1693 he determined to appoint ministers of one party, and in two years his cabinet was entirely composed of Whigs."

There is pathos in his remark to his Dutch favourite, Portland, who, reporting to him some public defalcations which had impaired the revenue, petulantly exclaimed : " Is there one honest man in the whole of Great Britain ? " " Yes," replied the King, " there are as many men of high honour in this country as in any other, perhaps more, but they are not my friends."¹

A Dutch authoress has described him thus :—" Like all the Nassaus he was a born soldier, and he early became proficient in military science, and in the allied branch of mathematics. He certainly never acquired the mental culture that opens a world of delight to most men of his abilities. He remained indifferent to literature and science in a general sense."² This writer quotes William's secretary, Huygens, as an authority for stating that " in later life he showed some interest in art."³ If this be so, the evidence must be sought rather in Holland than in England, and indeed in many ways he was a great Englishman, but he was a greater Dutchman.

But whether or not we discern in William much interest in the peaceful arts, we owe him a debt of gratitude for his support of a measure which removed the reproach of a clipped and debased currency from our country, not only by upholding Somers in his first unsuccessful efforts towards the solution of this difficult question, but in his steady countenance of Montagu, to whom the reform was ultimately due—and let us thus take leave of him,

William died, aged 51, on March 8th, 1701-2, from the after effects of a fall from his horse on February 21st, caused by the animal stumbling over a mole heap. According to some authorities, the pony, named Sorrel, had been the property of Sir John Fenwick, and had been confiscated to the King's use on its master's execution, and some saw in the accident a retributive justice.⁴ The mole as "the

¹ Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. vii, p. 235.

² *Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, by Baroness S. van Z. van Nyevelt, p. 237.

³ *Court Life* as before, referring to Ising's *Haagsche Schetsen*, vol. iv, pp. 186, 189, 190, where this authoress quotes Constantine Huygens' diary.

⁴ The story is carefully sifted in *The History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii. p. 166, where the author says : " Sorrel is stated, though we know not with what accuracy, to have belonged to Sir John Fenwick, who was attainted on a charge of conspiracy against

little gentleman in velvet" was toasted by the Jacobites, but the death of William had come too late or too early for their cause—too late because James II. had also passed away—too early because the titular King James III. was not old enough to claim his rights. So the crown was given to a second Stuart princess, whose reign was characterized by wars abroad, but a certain revival of peaceful arts at home. The mighty hand which had swayed great destinies was paralysed by the approach of death, and could not sign the document which despoiled William's brother-in-law of the throne, but a facsimile was affixed at the bedside, and the golden opportunity was lost.¹ His strong grasp was removed from the helm, and the sceptre fell into the soft white hand of Anne, who seized it, regardless, as her sister had been, of the brother who should have come between her and the throne, and forgetful of the parent, who whether or not he possessed the secret of acting as the father of his people, had ever been an affectionate and lenient father to his children. William, who stood in a less near relationship to the male members of the House of Stuart, was perhaps, in a sense, less to blame than his wife. Mary, on the other hand was partly exonerated by her conception of conjugal duty. Be this as it may, let us put politics aside—

"The knight's bones are dust,
And the great sword rust,
His soul is with the saints, I trust."²

the king's life, and executed in 1697, when William seized all his personal effects and converted them to his own use, amongst them the horse that proved fatal to him." See also the accounts given in *The Royal House of Stuart*, by Samuel Cowan, vol. ii, p. 440, and Strickland, vol. viii, pp. 58 and 118.

¹ *James Francis Edward*, by Martin Haile, p. 61, and Tindal's *Summary of the History of England*, vol. iii, p. 177, March 6th, 1701-2, vol. v of Tindal's edition of Rapin. See also Macaulay, vol. v, p. 307, ed. 1861. "The Abjuration Bill and a Money Bill were awaiting his assent. That assent he felt that he should not be able to give in person. He therefore ordered a commission to be prepared for his signature. His hand was now too weak to form the letters of his name, and it was suggested that a stamp should be prepared. On the seventh of March the stamp was ready." Macaulay describes how it was not until the 7th, the day before his death, that William finally "put the stamp to the parchment," which authorized the commission to act for him.

² *The Knight's Tomb*, by S. Coleridge.

THE DOMINIONS, EMBLEMS, AND COINS OF THE SOUTH INDIAN DYNASTIES.

BY MAJOR R. P. JACKSON, *Indian Army (Retired)*.

THE little that is known of the history of Southern India in ancient times has been derived chiefly from inscriptions on copper and stone, and this is valuable as it is trustworthy ; and the legends on coins have also filled up many gaps in Indian history. The name history cannot in any proper sense of the term be applied to the numerous fabulous works composed by the Brahmins, who were the only depositories of learning in the early days.

One ceases to marvel at the enormous number of ancient coins found in Southern India after perusing the list of the numerous dynasties which have reigned there at various times, especially as the issue of a new coinage was one of the first acts of a new ruler, which, passing from hand to hand, proclaimed to all the change in the government. Many of these ancient coins are available at the present day, which is due chiefly to the hoarding propensities of the Asiatic, who usually makes Mother Earth his banker. The custom of going on pilgrimage, the breaking out of war between neighbouring states, and the sudden incursions of enemies in those unsettled times, necessitated the concealment of money. If it happened that the people who concealed the valuables were killed, as they often were, it was reserved for the ploughman, the builder, the well-digger, or the action of the rain to bring the hidden wealth to light. The construction of canals and railways usually yields some coins, many of which soon find their way to the Hindu money-changer, and as he will not melt up a coin bearing an image, it is put aside for sale or conversion into an ornament. Coin collectors in India are allowed to purchase specimens

from the Calcutta and Bombay mints from the coins sent to government as treasure trove, after certain museums and societies have made their selection. Rare coins are often obtainable in this way at very reasonable prices.

THE MONETARY SYSTEM AND EARLIEST COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

In order to understand the monetary system of Southern India a knowledge of the weight standards of the ancient coins is indispensable. The rati seed, the basis of the metric system of Northern India, was not used in the south in early times. In Southern India the monetary system was based upon the weights of two kinds of seeds of indigenous origin, viz., the Manjadi (*Adenathera pavonina*), weighing about 5 grains troy, and the Kalanju or Molucca bean (*Cæsalpinia bonduc*), weighing 10 manjadis or 50 grains.¹ These well-known vegetable products offered a ready expedient for determining the required proportion of a piece of silver, but the inconvenience of using seeds, which differed slightly in weight, led to the introduction of metal equivalents. The punch-marked silver coins of the south are supposed to be the equivalent of the kalanju in weight. The globular prototype of the pagoda, with the punch-mark in the centre, weighed under 52 grains. The gold fanam of Southern India was the equivalent in weight to the manjadi seed, and the gold hun, varaha, or pagoda (ten times the weight of the fanam) the equivalent to the kalanju seed.

Silver was the metal first used in India for monetary purposes, the amount of bullion to be given as a medium of exchange being adjusted by weight. To prevent the frequent use of scales, uniform pieces of the required weight were cut and eventually impressed with a symbol. They weigh about 50 grains, and as there are no silver mines in India the metal must have been imported. They are said to be of Buddhist origin, which religion was introduced into Southern India in the reign of Asoka after the third Buddhist council was held

¹ Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 47.

(246 B.C.), when missionaries were sent to Maisur, Kanara, and the Dakhan to propagate the faith.

These coins are invariably devoid of any inscription. The earliest specimens bear no mark or device of any sort, but the later, called "punch-marked" coins, had devices stamped upon them with a punch and a hammer. They are of all shapes—oblong, square, or nearly round—but the greater portion of them are rectangular, with the corners sometimes cut to give them the exact weight. The rectangular coins are thought to be of earlier date than the circular specimens, the metal of which is more debased. The surfaces are covered all over with devices and signs without any order, and which, apparently, were not punched at one time, as many of the devices overlap each other. The signs may be the marks of successive rulers, to give a sort of sanction to the currency, or of bankers, who put their own stamp upon them as a guarantee of the purity of the metal. These coins are found all over India, and have been discovered in the primitive tombs (*kistvaens*) of the Dakhan and in buried cities. It is thought that they remained in circulation until about A.D. 300.

"Punch-marked" gold coins are also found in Southern India, but they are of much greater rarity than the silver money. The oldest specimens are "spherules, quite plain and smooth, with the exception of a minute punch-mark too small to be identified—by the impress of which they have been slightly flattened."

"Punch-marked" copper coins are very rare, the oldest specimens being spherules somewhat depressed by the impact of the punch. They occur in all weights from about 3 to 60 grains.

The following emblems appear on the "punch-marked" coins, which have been claimed as special Buddhist symbols, but there is no absolute proof that they emanated from that creed. Mr. Thomas¹ states that there is an undercurrent of evidence that the Scythians introduced the leading idea of Sun-worship into India prior to any Aryan immigration, and that the Buddhists incorporated it into their own system for

¹ *Num. Orient.*, "Ancient Indian Weights," pp. 62, 63.

the success of the new creed to humour the prejudices of the multitude. The Chaitya, or tumulus, had also been sanctified by the Scythians before the time of the Buddhists. It will be noticed that all the devices are domestic or emblematic, "within the mundane range of simple people":—

1. The *Sun*, represented by a rayed circle (the earliest and commonest).
2. *Stars*.
3. The "*Chaitya*" (originally the name of a sacred tree but ultimately applied to the Buddhist "stupa." The chaitya or miniature clay temple enclosed a stamped seal bearing the recognised Buddhist formula).
4. The "*Bodhi*" tree.
5. The "*Caduceus*," or wizard's rod.
6. The "*Chakra*," or wheel.
7. The "*Swastika*."

Through the early coins we trace the history of coining, in which the use of the punch gradually gave way to the exclusive employment of a matrix or die. "The die at first was of the simplest form, and appears to have been a reversal of the superior action of the punch by striking the gold plate upon the single symbol placed below, and then adding the additional symbols by the old-fashioned process around the central device, leaving the other side, or reverse, plain, except where it shows the grain of the anvil or basis on which it rested. The force of the blows has in many instances given the upper side a concave surface. This, although accidental, appears to have led to the use of cup-shaped dies at a later period."¹

After the "punch-marked" coins the "die-made" issues came into use. This new method of striking coins with a die is said to have been introduced into Southern India together with Buddhism, "but Hindus as a rule are not fond of new fashions, and even if they for the sake of easiness gave in to the new method in coining their coppers, they may

¹ Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 54.

very well have continued punch-marking their silver coins, considering the old fashion finer, in the same way as it is a fact that punch-marked gold coins (the padma tangas) were struck even centuries after the method of punch-marking copper and silver coins had been abandoned.”¹

The “die-struck” Buddhist copper coins are generally rectangular in shape and bear the following devices :—

Obverse.—The elephant and Buddhist secondary symbols, such as the trisul.

Reverse.—The Buddhist shaccram or chequered pattern with a wavy line below.

THE ANDHRA DYNASTY.

This dynasty is mentioned by the Greek writers as a monarchical form of Government, and native accounts assign it a succession of thirty princes. “The dynasty seems to have attained independence soon after the death of Asoka, which occurred in 232 or 231 B.C., and it lasted for some four centuries and a half to about A.D. 236. At a very early period the Andhra kings made themselves a great power, and extended their authority across India along the course of the Godavari from its mouth on the shores of Bengal to its source in the mountains of the Western Ghats. Southwards their dominion was carried into the northern parts of Mysore, and northwards, perhaps, so far as the Narbada.”² They moved about, probably, with their slaves, flocks and herds, as was the general practice in those early times. Their capital is said to have been Dhanakakata, probably the modern Dharanakota. The manner in which this dynasty terminated is unknown. The Andhras professed the faith of Buddha.

“But the coins of the dynasty are northern rather than southern in type, and, in fact, have nothing in common with the peculiar coinage of the south. The known extant coins almost all belong to the later kings. The earliest sovereign whose issues are represented in this

¹ Loventhal, *Coins of Tinnevely*, p. 5.

² *Cat. Ind. Mus.*, vol. i, p. 208.

catalogue is Sivalakura, son of Mathari (about A.D. 85-113) . . . but it contains two good specimens of the issue of Sivalakura's successor, Vilivayakura II., son of Gautami (about A.D. 113-38). These three princes emitted a peculiar 'bow and arrow' type of coinage."¹

The metal used for their coins consisted of (1) lead, usually die-struck, (2) "potin," composed of yellow and red copper, tin, lead, etc., cast, and (3) silver, but only three specimens in this metal are known.

The devices on the leaden coins from the Krishna and Godavari districts consist of:—

Obverse.—The elephant (common), horse, lion and other animals.

Reverse.—The Ujjain symbol, so called from the old Asoka letters bearing that name; sometimes plain.

The coins weigh from 35 to 560 grains; they are generally round, but sometimes square; the elephant is rudely represented with or without legs, and usually faces the right, with the trunk pendant or upraised as in the act of saluting. The most extensive issues belong to the reign of Yagna Sri, about A.D. 184-213, and the next in number to Pulumavi, about A.D. 138-70.

The Andhra coinage has been described in Professor Rapson's *British Museum Catalogue of Andhra Coins*.

THE INDO-ROMAN COINAGE.

From the disappearance of the Andhras to the rise of the Chalukya Empire in the fifth century A.D. there is no numismatic record of any important dynasty, as the country from the Mahanadi to the Godavari was probably governed by local chiefs. When the ancient "punch-marked" silver coins passed out of use, the currency of Southern India consisted chiefly of gold obtained from the Roman traders, who brought with them large supplies of *aurei* to exchange for silks, muslins, gems, spices, ivory, etc. From time to time large hoards of *aurei* have been unearthed on the Malabar coast and at

¹ *Cat. Ind. Mus.*, vol. i, p. 201.

numerous other places in Southern India, from which it is evident that there was in early days a considerable trade between the inhabitants of that country and the Romans. At one time a fleet of 120 sail was annually wafted by the assistance of the monsoon from the Red Sea to the coast of Malabar, and a regular trade was established from the ports of Egypt and the Red Sea to Musiris or Barace (Mangalur or Barcur?) on the western coast. From Egypt the Indian products were shipped to Italy. Large quantities of pepper were shipped annually for the markets at Rome, where it was esteemed one of the greatest luxuries of the day. All these purchases were paid for in specie, and thus there is little occasion for surprise at the discovery of Roman coins in Southern India. In 1850 a large quantity of *aurei*, said to be not less than five cooly-loads, was dug out of a bed of a river near Kannanur; they were as fresh as on the day they were struck, and consisted of specimens from the time of Augustus, 29 B.C. to A.D. 14, to that of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-161, and were evidently brought to the country subsequently to, or during, the reign of the last mentioned emperor. If not brought by Roman traders, Captain Drury¹ mentions another supposition, viz., as to whether they may not have been brought by those Jewish refugees who emigrated from Palestine about A.D. 68, and spread themselves over this part of the continent. At that time, Palestine being a Roman province, 10,000 Jews with their families came and settled on the Malabar coast. "Now supposing several emigrations of the kind to have succeeded each other and taken place during the third and fourth centuries, it is not unlikely that these coins may have been brought by them, and either from suffering persecution or oppression at the hands of the natives, they may have buried these treasures for greater security or concealment." As all these coins were discovered in the interior of the country, they were probably concealed by the native agents of the Roman merchants. Silver Roman coins are often unearthed in India, many of them showing signs of having been in active circulation; those of Augustus and Tiberius are the commonest.

¹ *J.R.A.B.*, 1851, vol. xx, pp. 376-380.

In the reign of Justinian the Roman Empire was in its decline, and the traffic over these seas being successfully disputed by a maritime people, the Romans finally abandoned their commercial dealings with India.

There is, however, another type of coin, Roman beyond doubt, but quite distinct from any type found in Europe. This series consists of little copper pieces found in and around Madura, which Captain Tufnell has attributed to a local mint in India :—"They are not the kind of money that one would expect the rich Roman merchant to bring in payment for the luxuries of the East, but small insignificant copper coins, scarce the size of a quarter of a farthing, and closely resembling the early issues of native mints . . . I have never yet heard of the discovery in Southern India of any of those fine copper coins (known as 1st and 2nd brass) . . . and, after all, what more natural than that, as trade increased and Eastern luxuries became more and more popular with the fair dames of Rome, small settlements of agents should be established to collect on the spot the produce of the country, and convey it to the ships of their employers on their periodical visits to the ports of call . . . Looking, then, to the facts that all the coins of this series are well worn as though they had been in regular circulation, that they are of a type differing from those usual to the Imperial mints, that they are of so small a value as to be what one would expect to find in use when dealing with a people as poor as the early Hindus, that they are found almost exclusively in one locality, that they are constantly being found and not occurring in a glut at intermittent periods—surely all these arguments point to the possible, if not, indeed, the probable, truth of the theory that they were of local mintage. On the obverse of all that I have met appears an emperor's head, but so worn that with one or two exceptions the features are well-nigh obliterated. In one or two specimens a faint trace of an inscription appears running round the obverse, but hitherto I have not come across a single specimen in which more than one or two letters are distinguishable. The reverses vary considerably, but the commonest type seems to bear the figures of three Roman soldiers standing and holding spears in their hands. Another bears a

rectangular figure somewhat resembling a complete form of the design on the reverse of the Buddhist square coins found in the same locality (Madura), while most are too worn to allow of even a suggestion as to what their original design was intended to represent. On one specimen the few decipherable letters appear to form part of the name Theodosius, and the style of coin points to the probability of its having been issued during the decline of the Roman Empire, possibly after the capital had been transferred to Constantinople." The reading of a Roman copper coin believed to be the issue of Theodosius, A.D. 393, is given by Prinsep as :—

Obverse.—--- DOSIUS. PP.; head with star on right.

Reverse.—GLORIA ROMANORUM; three standing figures armed with spears.

Sir W. Elliot refers to these die-struck coins of thin copper, which are found along the Coromandel coast from Nellore to Pondicherry, as follows :—" They are found in considerable numbers in or near dunes and sand knolls in the vicinity of the fishing hamlets that stud the shore . . . They are collected by the wives and children of the fishermen after gales of wind or heavy rains, and purchased from them by the itinerant pedlars in exchange for useful necessities, by whom they are sold to braziers and coppersmiths . . . The Roman coins are all of the smallest value, and are generally worn smooth."

THE KURUMBARS.

The country from the base of the table-land to the Palar and Pennar rivers was occupied about the sixth century A.D. by a pastoral race called Kurumbars. They are said to have derived their name from their cruelty. They formed a sort of confederate state under chiefs, who resided in fortified strongholds. They were Jains, and carried on commerce by sea. Some of them spread into the Dravida country so far as the Tonda-Mundala country. In the eighth or ninth century A.D. they were defeated by the Tondaman of Tanjore, a relative of the Chola king, who annexed their country to the Chola kingdom and changed the name to Tondamandalam.

The following coins, which are found on the Coromandel coast from Nellore to Pondicherry and in the vicinity of Mahavalipuram, are usually attributed to the Kurumbars,¹ who, at the period assigned to the coins, enjoyed an independent existence in the Arkat district :—

1. Silver or billon coins (rare), measuring $\frac{8}{10}$ of an inch and weighing about 40 grains, with a bull or horse on the obverse and, occasionally, letters in the cave-character above the animal.
2. Thin and brittle copper coins, of an irregular round shape with the same obverse as the silver coins, but sometimes with the addition of the sun and moon (denoting permanency of rule). On the reverse the common device is a rayed “chakra” or wheel, but sometimes there is a tree, star, crab, fish or a ship. The ship (the *d'honi*) is a two-masted coasting boat steered by means of oars from the stern, and has two waving lines below it to represent the sea.

THE PALLAVAS.

The Pallava kings ruled the country from Calingapatam in the north to Mahavalipuram in the south, their western limit extending into Maisur. In the fourth century A.D. the Gujarat Rajputs of the Chalukya family occupied part of their territories south of the Krishna, and in the seventh century overran Vengi, the seat of the Pallava principality, establishing themselves at Rajamahendri, which became the capital of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. Another Pallava principality was seated at Kanchi (or Conjeveram), which also carried on a constant warfare against the Chalukyas. A list of the Pallava kings from A.D. 200 to 1120 has been given by Mr. Rice. The early Pallava kings were Buddhists, but in the eighth century Buddhism disappeared owing to Brahminical persecution and the increase of the Jains.

The seals on the Pallava grants have the figure of a bull recumbent or standing as on the Kurumbar coins. The coins attributed to this

¹ “They may have been issued by the Kurumbas or Pallavas at Conjeveram,” Elliot.

dynasty by Elliot have, however, the figure of a lion on the obverse. The lion is often described as the tiger in India, and "the tiger banner of Vengi" is quoted in a Chola inscription of the eleventh century A.D.

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. Gold.—Weight 72 grs. Obverse.—Lion to left with paw upraised. | } Reverses not read. |
| 2. Gold.—Weight 7·5 grs. Similar. | |
| 3. Gold.—Weight 5·7 grs. Obverse.—Lion to left. | |
| 4. Gold.—Weight 59·5 grs. Obverse.—Maned lion to right. Reverse.—A three-storeyed building. | |
| 5. Coarse silver. Obverse.—Maned lion to right. Reverse.—Vase on a stand between two lampstands. | |

THE KADAMBAS.

This dynasty ruled over North and South Kanara and Western Maisur. Their capital was Banavasi, on the river Varada about 25 miles north-west of the Gerseppa Falls. The capital was evidently of some importance in early times, as it is mentioned by Ptolemy. Mr. Rice gives a list of Kadamba kings from A.D. 150–1251. The palmy days of their independence were probably during the fifth and sixth centuries, when there were three Kadamba states existing at Banavasi, Goa, and Halsi. In the sixth century these states became faithful and loyal feudatories of the Chalukya kings. In the fourteenth century they were conquered by Bukka of Vijayanagara.

The cognizance of the Kadambas was the figure of a lion looking backwards ; another of their insignia was the money-god Hanuman.

The following coins have been attributed to this dynasty :—

1. Gold.—Weight 58 grs. Elliot, No. 10.
Obverse.—Unrecognizable object in the centre, at either side the archaic form of the word "Sri," below a vase, above the word "Vijaya."
Reverse.—Blank.
2. Gold.—Weight 54·5 grs. Elliot, No. 66.
Obverse.—Lion in centre, around four punch-marks, two being the word "Sri," the third the word Bhujain (?), the fourth an ankus (elephant goad).
Reverse.—Blank.

3. Gold.—Weight 58·525 grs. Elliot, No. 67.
Obverse.—Lotus in the centre with four punch-struck retrospectant lions round it.
Reverse.—Scroll.
4. Gold.—Bombay Museum. Elliot, No. 70.
Obverse.—Retrospectant lion with Kanarese legend below “Seluga” (?).
Reverse.—Indistinct object in centre in circle of dots surrounded by an outer circle in which an ornament resembling a circular buckle alternates with a trefoil.
5. Gold fanam.—Weight 2·9 grs.
Obverse.—Lion looking to the front.
Reverse.—Undecipherable legend.
6. Gold fanam.—Weight 5·9 grs.
Obverse.—A lion.
Reverse.—An elephant goad.

The following coins have been assigned to the *Kadamba chiefs of Goa* :—

Vishnu Chitta-Deva, A.D. 1147 to about 1185.

- Silver.—Weight 37·8 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 6.
Obverse.—Rampant lion to left in dotted circle ; sun and moon above ; name of Jovian year below ?
Reverse.—In square with marginal ornaments, three lined legend SASAKA GU | --- CHI | TTA DEVAH.

Jayakesi III., A.D. 1187 to about 1212.

1. Gold.—Weight 67·8 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 5.
Obverse.—Lion passant to left ; sun and moon above ; legend JANA in front, which ought to be, but is not, the name of a year of the Jovian cycle.
Reverse.—In dotted circle the Nagari legend SRI SAPTAKO- | TISVARA LABDHA | -- KE -- | --- “who obtained boons from Saptakotisvara,” *i.e.*, Siva.
2. Gold.—Bombay Museum. Elliot, No. 71.
Obverse.—Lion to left looking to the front ; the cycle year “pramoda” in old Nagari in front of lion.
Reverse.— SRI - SAPTAKOTISA - LABDHA - VARA - VIRA - JAYAKA[KE]SIDEVA - MALAVAR AMARI. = “The brave Jayakesideva, the destroyer of the Malavas, who obtained boons from the holy Saptakotisa.”

3. Gold.—Elliot, No. 69.

Obverse.—As 1, but four-lined Nagari legend on reverse SRI - SAPTAKOTISVARA-CHARANA-LABDHA-VARA-VIRA-SOYIDEVA = "The brave Soyideva who has obtained boons from the feet of the holy Saptakotisvara."

THE CHALUKYAS.—(1) THE WESTERN BRANCH.

They were descended from a powerful family in Gujarat. About A.D. 489 Pulakesi I. crossed the Narbada and captured Vatapi (or Badami). Of his two grandsons, Pulakesi II. continued the western line on the table-land, while his brother, Kubja Vishnu Vardhana I., founded the eastern branch, below the ghats at Rajamahendri in Vengi. The western branch changed their capital to Kalyana, where they ruled until A.D. 1150. The Chalukyas were overthrown in the twelfth century by the Ballalas, who in turn were defeated in A.D. 1327 by an army sent by Muhammad ibn Tughlaq of Delhi.

THE CHALUKYAS.—(2) THE EASTERN BRANCH.

They ruled over Vengi and the greater part of Kalinga with their capital at Rajamahendri. The disturbed state of the country, due to disputed successions, caused Raja Narendra, the Chola king, about the close of the tenth century, to seize their kingdom, which he annexed to his empire. It remained a part of that empire until the end of the thirteenth century, when the Cholas were expelled by the Kakatiyas of Worangal.

The insignia of the Chalukyas consisted of the boar, the peacock fan, the ankusha (elephant goad), the golden sceptre, the sankha (conch shell), the white umbrella, the spear, the noubat, the banner of the sharp sword, the pratidakka (sort of drum), the sinhasana (throne), etc. Several of these symbols appear on their seals attached to the copper grants and on their coins.

THE COINS OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY.

The gold coins consisted of thin circular pieces measuring about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and weighing from 57–68 grains. The figure of a boar was stamped in the centre, with the Kanarese letters of the legend impressed singly round the periphery by means of punches. The blank reverses are marked from the scratches on the anvil, probably made to prevent the metal slipping when struck. These were succeeded by round and thicker pieces, weighing about 58 grains, of better workmanship, which have received the name of “padma-tankas,” from having a lotus (padma) stamped in the centre. The lotus was a favourite emblem amongst the Jainas. The “padma-tankas” were succeeded by coins of the same weight bearing the figure of a boar.

The influence of the Chalukya dynasty on the Southern Indian coinage has descended to the present time, for, “from the extensive circulation of the Chalukya money bearing the figure of this animal (the boar), and its adoption by the succeeding dynasty of Vijayanagar, the name of the pieces in most of the vernacular dialects has come to be that of *varaha*, or boar piece, even when the figure of the animal gave place to that of a deity, or some other symbol, as happened after the change in the Vijayanagar dynasty from the Kuruba to the Narsinga line.”¹

Jayasimha, A.D. 1018–1042 (?).

1. Gold.—Weight $57\frac{1}{2}$ to 59 grs. Hultzsch, No. 29, *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896.
Obverse.—Nine punch-marks, of which five represent a lion, two the syllable “SRI,” one “JAYA,” and one “DEVA.”
Reverse.—Blank.

Jagadekamalla, A.D. 1138–1150 (?).

2. Gold.—Weight 68 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 2.
Obverse.—Concave, in shallow cup-shape; temple in centre, below it JAGADEKAMALA [-malla] in Kanarese = “the sole wrestler [champion] of the world”; seven punch-marks on margin, viz., three of “SRI” and four of “JAGADEKAMALA.”
Reverse.—Blank.

¹ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 70.

Trailokyamalla, A.D. 1150–1159 (?).

3. Gold.—Weight 58 grs. Hultzsch, No. 28, *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896.
Obverse.—Nine punch-marks, of which five represent a lion, two the syllable “SRI,” one “TRELO,” and one “MALLA.”
Reverse.—Blank.

Anonymous.

4. Gold.—Weight $65\frac{9}{10}$ grs. Elliot, *C.S.I.*, No. 79.
Obverse.—Boar in centre under an umbrella, two flywhisks with the *taurus* symbol, and a lamp in front of—and another behind the animal; around, impressed by separate punches, old Kanarese letters, reading SRI CHALUKYA VALLABHA—the last word doubtful.
Reverse.—Blank.
5. Gold.—Bidie, Plate 1, Fig. 5. Moore's *Hindu Pantheon*. Plate 104, Fig. 13.
Obverse.—Boar to left, with sun and moon, part of a scroll above, a scroll below, also dagger like a cross.
Reverse.—A scroll on bird's tail, or arabesque of foliage (Elliot). This is the earliest design on the reverses of coins in Southern India; the name “phulihun” = flowery pagoda, being derived from this floral reverse (Elliot).
6. Gold.—Elliot, *Numis. Glean.*, Fig. 5. Bidie, Plate 1, Fig. 3.
Obverse.—A boar caparisoned, with sun and moon above.
Reverse.—A central boss surrounded by dots representing a chakra or wheel.
7. Gold.—Weight 58.225 grs. Bidie, Plate 1, Fig. 4.
Obverse.—Caparisoned boar to the right, scrolls above and below.
Reverse.—A radiating chakra or wheel.
8. Gold fanam, 6.2 grs.—Elliot, No. 86.
Obverse.—Boar to the right in circle.
Reverse.—A lion with the sun above.
9. Copper—Elliot, No. 81.
Obverse.—Boar to the right, sun and moon above.
Reverse.—A sankha shell.
10. Copper—Elliot, No. 83.
Obverse.—As No. 9.
Reverse.—Lion looking backwards.

11. Copper.—Elliot, No. 84.
Obverse.—Boar to the left.
Reverse.—Indistinct.

THE COINS OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY.

Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, A.D. 615–633. The first king surnamed Vishamasiddhi.

1. Base silver coins.—Weight $32\frac{1}{2}$ to 50 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 1.
Obverse.—Within dotted border, a rude lion to the right, above, Telugu legend “VISHAMASIDDHI” = “successful in scaling inaccessible places.”
Reverse.—Within a border of rays a double trident, surmounted by a crescent, and flanked by two lamps.
2. Copper.—Hultzsch, No. 34, *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896.
Obverse and Reverse as 1.

Saktivarman or Chalukya Chandra, A.D. 1000–1012.

3. Gold.—Weight 65·5 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, p. 313.
Obverse.—In centre a boar to right, surmounted by umbrella, fly-whisk on each side; old Kanarese marginal legend SRI CHALUKYA SA 13, *i.e.*, year 13 of the reign.
Reverse.—Blank.

Raja Raja, A.D. 1022–1063.

4. Gold.—Weight 66·5 grs. No. 24, *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896.
Obverse.—In centre a boar to the right, surrounded by two lamps, an elephant goad, a parasol, and the sun and moon [?], two fly-whisks; below the boar's head the Telugu letter JA [?] margin SRI RAJA RAJA [Telugu] SA[MVAT] 34.
Reverse.—Plain.
5. Gold.—Weight 66·5 grs. No. 25, *Ind. Ant.*, Dec. 1896.
Obverse.—As 4, but below the boar's head the Telugu letters KA: margin SRI RAJA RAJA. SA. 37.

“The central device and each of the six portions of the marginal legend of Nos. 4 and 5 were struck by a separate punch. The punches show through on the plain reverse. The irregular concave shape of the obverse was evidently caused by the gradual bending of the thin metal during the application of the six punches.”—Dr. Hultzsch.

THE RATTA CHIEFS OF MANYAKHETA.

The first seat of their power appears to have been at Elura, and afterwards their dominions extended from Elura in the north to the Krishna in the south. At the end of the ninth century A.D. they established themselves at Manyakheta (now Malkhed) in the centre of the Nizam's dominions, which thenceforward became their capital. They are said to represent the modern Mahratta (Maha-Ratta) nation. The Chalukyas wrested their kingdom from them about the eleventh century.

The insignia on the Ratta grants is the figure of a four-armed deity, but one of the inscriptions of a Ratta king mentions that "he had the sign, or mark, or banner of Garuda."

The following silver coins, weighing 33 grains, found at Nasik, Bombay, etc., have been attributed¹ to this dynasty; they follow the Greco-Parthian model and are quite different to the southern-India coins :—

Obverse.—Head of the king.

Reverse.—Bull couchant with legend PARAMA MAHESVARA
MATAPITRIPADANUDHYATA SRI KRISHNARAJA=
"the illustrious Krishna raja (A.D. 360–400 ?), the great lord,
meditating on the feet of his mother and father."

THE KALACHURIS OF KALYAN.

This was one of the dynasties which rose upon the ruins of the Chalukya state. In the twelfth century its rulers were chiefs of Taddevadi in North Maisur. Bijjala the chief, who also held high military command at Kalyan under the Chalukya king, drove his royal master from the capital, and proclaimed himself independent in A.D. 1162. He adopted the cognizance of the golden bull and the damaruka drum (the sand-glass shaped double drum). This dynasty ended in A.D. 1182 when the Western Chalukyan king regained his kingdom.

¹ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 149.

Gold coins assigned to the Kalachuri king Someswara (A.D. 1167–1175), the successor of Bijjala (A.D. 1156–1167).

Pagodas and fanams. Elliot, No. 87.

Obverse.—Figure advancing to right.

Reverse.—Old Kanarese legend in three lines SOVI MURARI RAYA
DEVA.

THE LINGAYAT SECT OF HINDUS.

The founder was Basava, the Brahman minister of Bijjala of the Kalachuris, whose death he compassed. This new creed, founded about A.D. 1160, was a form of puritan Saivism, known as the Jangama or Vira Saiva sect; it levelled all distinctions of caste, and united the bulk of the Dakhan Sudras, including even Pariahs, many of whom were the principal supporters of Basava. The Lingayats derived their name from the practice of carrying about on their persons the “lingam” or emblem of Siva. Their distinctive mark is a peculiarly shaped silver case containing a small black stone “lingam”; the box is called “Jangam” (*i.e.*, movable), and is either fastened to the arm or suspended from the neck. The symbols on their coins may have reference to this portable “lingam.”

Gold Coinage of the Lingayats. Fourteenth century?

1. Pagoda (51 grs.), half pagoda (27 grs.).—Bidie, Plates 1–8, *C.I.M.*, vol. i, p. 318.

Obverse.—A figure which may be the lingam with a snake-like scroll on it.

Reverse.—A figure which may be the yoni, or lingam and yoni combined.

This coin frequently is forged.

2. Pagoda (52 grs.), half pagoda (26.5 grs.).—*Lahore Mus. Cat.*, p. 112.

Obverse and reverse.—Plain and convex.

THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI, A.D. 1187–1311.

They were another minor dynasty which arose upon the ruins of the Chalukya state. They are said to have driven the Kalachuris out of Kalyan and to have gained possession of the northern Chalukya

districts. Their "principal station was at Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad. . . . The duration of the family as rulers did not exceed 124 years (or from A.D. 1187 to 1311), when it was subverted by the arms of 'Alau-d-din Muhammad Shah, the Mahommedan Emperor of Delhi."¹

Their device was a golden garuda, a bird sacred to Vishnu.

Coins attributed to the Yadavas of Devagiri.

1. Gold.—Weight 52·2 grs. Elliot, No. 88. Doubtful.

Obverse.—A kneeling figure of Garuda.

Reverse.—Old Kanarese, three-lined legend, RAJA SIVABATA [-BHATA]?

2. Silver.—Weight 4·2 grs. Elliot, No. 89.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—Undecipherable characters.

THE HOYSALA BALLALAS, A.D. 984–1310.

They rose to power at Dvarasamudra and Halabidu in Maisur, and were feudatories of the Kalyan Chalukyas. They captured Talkad, the Kongu-Chera capital, and annexed the country north of Dvaravati so far as the Tungabhadra. Ballala II. (A.D. 1191–1211?) first assumed regal titles. On his death they were driven back within their former limits, but assisting the Chola king in his wars with the Pandya king, they obtained great influence to the eastward, and the Hoysala king resided much at Vikrampur in the Chola country. The last of the Hoysala kings, Ballala III., was crushed in A.D. 1310 by the generals of 'Alau-d-din, Emperor of Delhi. They professed the Jaina religion till the time of Vishnu Vardhana, who was converted to Saivism.

The cognizance of the Hoysala Ballalas was the figure of a tiger.

¹ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 79.

*Coins attributed to the Hoysala Ballalas.**Vishnu Vardhana.*

Gold.—Weight 61·75 grs. Bangalore Museum. Elliot, No. 90.

Obverse.—Maned lion before an altar : above, a smaller lion : both facing to the right : the sun above.

Reverse.—Old Kanarese three-lined legend SRI TALAKADU GONDA, "He who took the glorious Talkad."

"The Conqueror of Nonambavadi."

Gold.—Weight 63 grs.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—Old Kanarese three-lined legend SRI NONAMBAVADI GONDAN, "He who took the glorious Nonambavadi."

THE GANAPATI DYNASTY OF WORANGAL.

This was a feudatory of the Chalukyas until Kakati Prolaya (A.D. 1110–1160) rebelled against his sovereign. His successors, notably Ganapati (A.D. 1223–1257), from whom the line took its name, enlarged their dominions by conquest. Worangal, the capital, was captured by the armies of 'Alau-d-din of Delhi in A.D. 1310, and Pratapa Rudra the King (A.D. 1285–1325) was compelled to pay tribute. In 1323 the city was again captured by the Muhammadans as the king attempted to free himself from the Delhi yoke, and Pratapa was sent to Delhi.

Their cognizance was a bull couchant between two candelabra with an umbrella above, and on each side a fly-whisk ; also a four-armed figure seated under the umbrella, and a bell.

Coins attributed to this Dynasty.

1. Gold pagoda.—Elliot, p. 85.

Obverse.—Bull couchant.

2. Gold fanam.—Weight 6·6 grs. Elliot No. 93.

Obverse.—Bull couchant to right

Reverse.—?

3. Copper.—Elliot, p. 85.

Obverse.—Bull couchant.

Reverse.—Old Nagari legend SRIMAT . . KA . . . KAKATI
PRATAPA RA . . YA?

THE SILHARAS. NINTH CENTURY TO A.D. 1187.

There were two branches of this family, viz., one at Kolhapur on the tableland, and one in the Konkan below the ghats. They never attained to great eminence. One of their titles is derived from Tagara, a place known to the Greek geographers, and supposed to be in the vicinity of Daulatabad.

Their cognizance was a golden garuda.

No coins have yet been attributed to them.

THE VEMMA REDDIS OF KONDAVID.

This family was descended from a wealthy farmer named Permal, of Anumakonda in Maisur, who rose to some distinction after the fall of Worangal in A.D. 1323. Permal established himself at Kondavid, and extended his dominions over the neighbouring country. He was succeeded by five others of his family. Kondavid was captured by Krishna Raya of Maisur (A.D. 1508–1542).

Their cognizance was the figure of a bull couchant.

No coins have yet been attributed to them.

THE CHERA, KONGU, AND GAJAPATI DYNASTIES.

The earliest local traditions agree in dividing the extreme south of the peninsula (Dravida-desam), *i.e.*, the part southward of latitude 12°, into four provinces, viz., Pandya, Chola, Chera, and Kerala which was below the ghats. The relations of the first three lay more often with each other than with those of their northern neighbours. They were early recognized as distinct powers, as they are mentioned in Asoka's edict. One or other of them was generally in the ascendant.

“The *Chera* power seems to have been at the highest before the Christian era, when it is found under the name of Kerala in Asoka's

edict.”¹ The Cheras are supposed to have been the people called by Ptolemy “Carei,” and their country the “Carura Regia Cerebothri,” or “Carei,” may represent the city of Karur, the capital of Cherapati (Lord of Chera). Before the fourth century the Chera dominions comprehended that part of the western coast known as Kerala, extending from Cape Comorin to Goa, and reached Trichengod on the east, and the present frontier of Maisur on the north. After this time, Kerala, *i.e.*, the western portion of their territories, being split up into numerous principalities, the importance of the Cheras declined, but they continued to govern the eastern portion of their possessions, with a diminished influence and under a different name.

The cognizance of the Cheras was a bow.

The eastern remnant of the Chera territory, comprising the western portion of Maisur as far as Nandidrug, together with Coimbatore and Salem, received the name of Kongu-desa. Here a new dynasty arose with its capital at Skandapura (of uncertain site). According to inscriptions, the first king of the new dynasty was Kongani Varma, with his capital at that place, “but the true seat of their power was Talavanpura or Dalavanpura, now Talkad,”² on the north bank of the Kaveri, thirty miles east of Seringapatam. From him the line became known as the Kongani dynasty (sometimes called the Ganga dynasty).

They took for their cognizance an elephant, in addition to the Chera bow, the latter being that by which they continued to be recognized by their Chola and Pandyan neighbours. “The cognizance of the elephant was taken with much propriety from that noble animal, the principal haunts of which in the south are the hills and forests of Kongudesas.”³

About the ninth century their second capital, Talkad (established about the third century), was captured by the Cholas. The Chera-Kongus then fled to Orissa, and established there the “Gajapati” (*i.e.*, elephant lords) line of kings. It was not till after the Gajapati dynasty ascended the throne of Orissa that Ganjam became nominally

¹ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 111.

² Elliot, p. 112.

³ Elliot, p. 116.

a part of their dominions, which originally had formed part of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.

The crest of the Kalinganagara Ganga dynasty was a bull.

Copper Coins attributed doubtfully to the Cheras.

Copper.—Weight 50 to 55 grs.; also 69 and 23 grs. Small irregularly shaped dumpy pieces, found chiefly in Tripati, Salem, and the Coimbatore district. No. 1 is thin and of an earlier type than the others.

1. *Obverse*.—The kitar (native dagger).
Reverse.—The bow. Tufnell, No. 32.
2. *Obverse*.—A peculiar object like an altar.
Reverse.—The bow and other symbols, such as the sacrificial axe or elephant goad. Tufnell, No. 19.
3. *Obverse*.—As 2.
Reverse.—Elephant to the left, bow, and other symbols. Tufnell, No. 20; Elliot, No. 124.
4. *Obverse*.—As 2.
Reverse.—Annulet surmounted by five pellets between two standards or lamps. Elliot, No. 121.

Gold Coins attributed to the Gajapati Kings.

1. Pagoda.—Weight 52·3 grs. Elliot, No. 118.
Obverse.—Elephant to the right.
Reverse.—A scroll of foliage or peacock's tail.
2. Pagoda.—Weight from 57·5 to 58·5 grs. Elliot, No. 119; Bidie, Plate 1, Fig. 7.
Obverse.—Elephant to right caparisoned with jewelled trappings.
Reverse.—As No. 1.
3. Pagoda.—As No. 2, but Kanarese letter above the elephant, which may be "the first letter of the king's name, or of the cycle year in which it was issued."
4. Fanam.—As No. 2. *J.A.S.B.*, 1886, p. 158.
5. Half fanam.—As No. 4.

The pagodas are extensively forged; the fanams and half-fanams are rare.

Gold fanams of the Ganga Dynasty of Kalinganagara, which may be the coins of Anantavarman, surnamed Chodaganga, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1078.—Dr. Hultzsch.

Weight $6\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Nos. 30 to 33. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, and *C.I.M.*, vol. i, pp. 314, 315.

1. *Obverse*.—A recumbent bull facing the right, with a conch in front and crescent above.

Reverse.—Telugu regnal date in two lines SA[MVAT] 3.

2. *Obverse*.—As No. 1, but bull surmounted by a crescent.

Reverse.—As No. 1, but regnal date 4.

3. *Obverse*.—A recumbent bull facing the right, with the sun (?) in front and crescent above.

Reverse.—SA[MVAT] 5.

4. *Obverse*.—A recumbent bull facing the right, with a lingam in front, and a crescent above.

Reverse.—SA[MVAT] 7.

Other Samvat years are 10, 13, 15, 31, 33, and 34.

THE DYNASTIES IN KERALA.

Under the Chera kings, Kerala, *i.e.*, that portion of the Western coast of South India from Cape Comorin to Goa, was governed by Viceroys called “Perumal” or “Cheruman Perumal” who resided at Cranganore. They were assisted by the Nair chieftains, said to have come originally from the Himalayas and Namburis (Brahmins), who proclaimed their independence in the fourth century A.D. and divided the country into eighteen districts under their own chiefs. In course of time these chieftainships merged into four independent states now known as Travancore, Cochin, Kalikut, and Kannanur. All four states are said to have coined money in A.D. 1657, when an Italian traveller visited the coast.

The Kerala Currency. (Foreign.)

The large number of Roman coins which were brought to the Malabar coast by the Roman traders in the first and second centuries A.D. appears to have formed the chief currency in Kerala long after the Romans abandoned their commercial dealings with India.

Another form of foreign currency was afterwards brought to the coast in the course of trade, viz., the twisted silver wire known as Larins or "fish hook money," which originated at Lar at the head of the Persian Gulf. This form of currency is first mentioned by European travellers in A.D. 1525, and was afterwards fabricated in the Maldiv Islands, and by the 'Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur.

The Venetian sequins and ducats, which formed a large proportion of the gold currency on the western coast about 200 years ago, owed their introduction to the mercantile ventures of the European traders, as Europe, at that time, had not articles she could find a market for in India. Their free circulation was assisted by their being of about the same weight as the Madras star pagoda, and from their long continued currency they came to be considered by the people as of native origin. The names of the doges on the sequins found in Malabar are Paul Rayner, Pat Grimani, Joan Cornei, Aloï Mocen, and Ludovic Manin. Copper imitations are often seen round the necks of women and children in the south of India.

The copper currency for a long time consisted almost entirely of Dutch "duits" or "challis," which were exported for the eastern currency and circulated freely all along the western coast. As late as 1892 they could be purchased in large quantities at the rate of about 150 to the rupee.

The Kerala Currency. (Indigenous.)

I. KALIKUT.

The first chief was called Samundri,¹ whence the Portuguese term of Zamorin, and invested with a sword by the last Cheruman. His title was also Tamutiri and Kunn-ala-konatiri, "Lord of the Hills and Waves." He built Kalikut, and encouraged the resort of Arab merchants for the profits of the western commerce. Kalikut was the first place in India touched at by a European navigator, for it was there that Vasco da Gama arrived on May 11th, 1498. Under the treaty of 1792, whereby Tipu was deprived of half of his dominions, Kalikut fell to the British.

¹ "The sea king" (Malayalam).

Coinage of the Zamorin of Kalikut.

According to Buchanan¹ the "vira raya" fanams were struck at Kalikut. It is said, however, that the other rulers on the Malabar coast coined them, and that they were first issued by the Cherakal Raja at Kolatnad. They are often called "plough fanams" from the device on the reverse.

The *vir-raya fanams*.—Weight 6·5 and 3·2 grs.—double and single fanams.

Obverse.—Indistinct form of the sankha shell resembling the Nandipada symbol on the gold coins of Travancore: the device on almost every coin varies.

Reverse.²—"It exhibits a transverse bar, sometimes with the end turned up like the letter J, or simply elongated something like a crocodile or saurian; at other times with one or two dependent lines. . . . Above this is always a number of dots arranged in two or three lines over each other. Marsden³ has compared this symbol to a jinjal or wall piece of ordnance with its pile of shot. . . ."

Dr. Hultzsch, in 1892, suggested that the device represented a ship. Many of the coins would seem to bear out the suggestion, which would be a suitable emblem for the Zamorin, whose title was also "Lord of the Hills and Waves."⁴ If the ship theory be accepted, the dots would represent waves.

The Malabar târés may have been struck at Kalikut. They are small silver pieces weighing from 1 to 2 grains and were current on the western coast in the seventeenth century. They were said to be equal to $\frac{1}{8}$ -fanam, and by Buchanan to be equal to half a paisa. A silver coin called tar is mentioned as worth $\frac{1}{8}$ -fanam in the writings of Abdur Razzaq, who visited the Vijayanagara court in A.D. 1443, when the copper jital (the equivalent of the modern pice) equalled $\frac{1}{3}$ -tar. They have the same obverse as the vira-raya fanams and the figure of a deity on the reverse.⁴ The Zamorin's mint was made over to the East India Company in 1793.

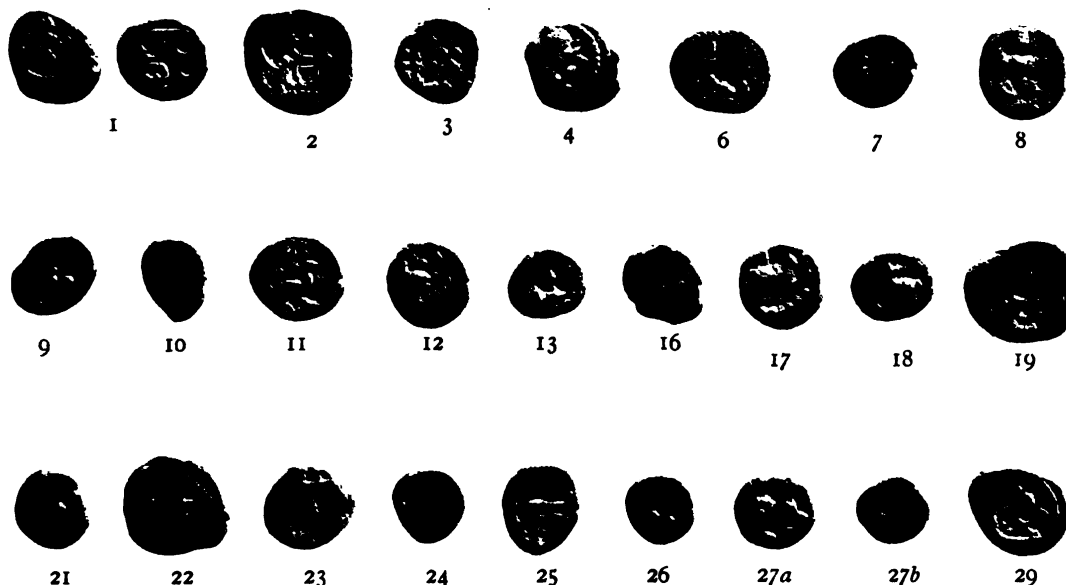
¹ *Jour. Maisur*, vol. ii, p. 353.

² Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 147.

³ Marsden, *Num. Or.*, vol. ii, p. 744.

⁴ Elliot, No. 193.

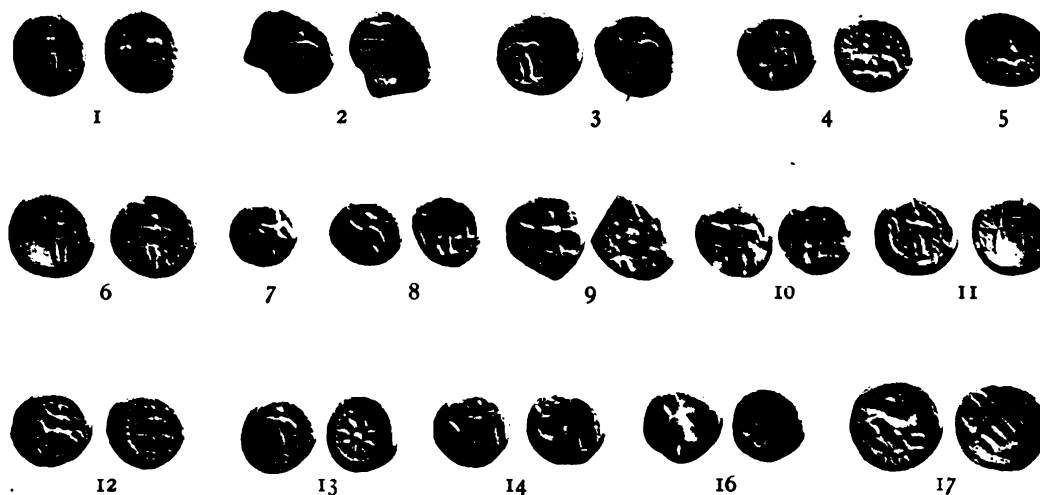
COPPER SRI VIRA COINS OF THE NAYAKAS OF MADURA.



COPPER SRI VIRA COINS OF THE NAYAKAS OF TINNEVELLY.



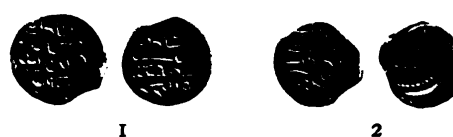
COPPER COINS OF THE NAYAKAS OF TANJORE.



COPPER COINS OF PUDUCOTTAH.



COPPER COINS OF THE MALDIVES.



PHOTOPHANE CO. S. E.

PLATE I.

II. KANNANUR.

The Portuguese planted a colony here in A.D. 1498 and the Dutch in 1656. The latter sold the place to a Moplah family, the head of which still bears the title of 'Ali Raja. In the war with Tipu, in 1783, it was occupied by the British ; but on the conclusion of peace, in 1784, it was restored to 'Ali Raja, who became tributary to the East India Company. It soon, however, fell into the hands of Tipu, from whom it was wrested by General Abercromby, and since then has remained in the hands of the British.

Coinage of Kannanur.

The King of Kannanur is said by a traveller in A.D. 1657 to have coined money, but it is probable that the vir-raya fanams and silver târés are meant.

'Ali Raja, the Moplah chief, struck the following silver double fanams in A.D. 1764 and 1774. They were procured in Kannanur. Dates A.H. 1178, 1188 :—

Obverse.—الملك الولي علي راجا “Al Mulk Aluli (Guardian of the Kingdom) Ali Raja.”

Reverse.—الله الحمد سنة ١١٧٨ “Praised be God, year 1178.”

The East India Company struck silver double fanams for purely local purposes at the Tellicherry factory, 12 miles south of Kannanur, which had been granted to them in 1708.

III. COCHIN.

According to tradition the rajahs of Cochin hold their territory in right of descent from Cheruman Perumal, who governed all Kerala as Viceroy of the Chola kings in the beginning of the ninth century A.D., and afterwards established his independence. In 1503 the Portuguese erected a fortress at Cochin. In 1663, after the expulsion of the Portuguese, the raja ceded the town to the Dutch, who made it the capital of their possessions in India. In 1776 the Cochin state was

subjugated by Haidar Ali of Maisur, to whom it became tributary. In 1792, his son, Tipu, ceded the sovereignty to the British, who made over the country to the hereditary raja, subject to a tribute. In 1796 the town of Cochin was captured from the Dutch by the British. The state is now in subsidiary alliance with the British under a treaty dated 1809.

The distinctive device of the Cochin state was the sankha, or conch shell, which appears first to have been adopted in Southern India by the Chalukyas.

Coinage of Cochin.

The rulers of Cochin never had a regular mint but resorted to temporary establishments when coin was required.¹

1. Silver puttān.—Weight 4·9 grs., called the “Kaliyamani” or sankhalata puttān (*i.e.*, puttān without the sankha shell). Date of coinage unknown.

Obverse.—As on the vir-*raya* fanams of Kalikut.

Reverse.—A few dots and lines imperfectly struck.

2. Silver puttān, struck by the Dutch for the Cochin Raja in 1782 and 1790, during the Dutch occupancy of the Cochin Fort.—Weight 5·2 grs. Different dies.

Obverse.—The conch or sankha shell.

Reverse.—An object like the letter J with two or three rows of dots below it.

3. Double silver puttāns, struck in 1820.—Weight 16 grs.

Obverse and reverse as No. 2.

4. Silver puttān, struck in 1856 and 1858.—Weight 8·4 grs.

Obverse.—The conch or sankha shell.

Reverse.—Either (1) “Sitting figure of the god Siva, as worshipped in the Raja’s temple at Tripunathurai, with snakes on either side, a chaplet of skulls, etc., as usually depicted,”² or (2) “Vishnu, which would be more appropriate to the Vaishnaiva symbol of the sankha shell, but the forms issuing from each elbow of the god appear to be clearly serpents, a symbol pertaining characteristically to Siva and not to Vishnu.”³

5. Double silver puttān, struck in 1856 and 1858.—Weight 16·8 grs.

Obverse and reverse as No. 4.

¹ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 141. ² Dr. Day, *Land of the Permauls*, p. 577. ³ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 142.

The copper currency consisted entirely of the Dutch "duits" or "challis." "Canter Visscher describes a base coin struck at Cochin which he calls 'boeserokken,' an alloy of lead and tin, with the arms of the Dutch East India Company on one side and something like a harp on the other. The coins are cast in a mould, and sixty of them are equal to a Cochin fanam."¹ They were evidently Dutch imitations of the tutenag and tin "bazaruccos" (= "market small change") first coined by the Portuguese in Malacca and afterwards in Goa, which were also imitated by the English East India Company in Bombay, where they were called "budgrooks." I have never met with any of the Dutch bazaruccos on the western coast of India; in fact, coins composed wholly or partly of lead are rarely found in India in these days. Although comparatively few were struck, more should be available; the facility with which they are melted down, either purposely or accidentally in fires, accounts perhaps, to some extent, for their scarceness. Many copper coins found in India show unmistakable signs of having passed through fire.

IV. TRAVANCORE (Tiruvankodu).

According to tradition the rajas of Travancore also hold their territory in right of descent from Cheruman Perumal, who governed all Kerala as Viceroy of the Chola kings in the beginning of the ninth century A.D., and afterwards established his independence. The attempts of Haidar Ali of Maisur to annex Travancore were frustrated by the British in 1769, and by the Dutch, who refused to allow the Maisur troops to pass through their territory; his son, Tipu, tried to seize it, but the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792 assured the safety of the raja's dominions. Since that time the state has continued in the full enjoyment of its independence.

The cognizance of the Travancore state is the sankha, or conch shell.

¹ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 142.

Coinage of Travancore.

1. The earliest coins of this state are the four old pieces, three of lead and one of iron, presented to Sir W. Elliot by the Rajah.

“These coins appear to date from a period anterior to the seventh or eighth century. The reverse of all four is smooth, and the obverse, which is much worn, exhibits an imperfect outline of what may have been a sankha shell, the ancient cognizance of the Travancore state, which it still retains.”¹

2. The rasi. Gold.—Weight 5·8 grs. The oldest coin according to the natives of Travancore.

Obverse.—Degraded representation of the sankha shell.

Reverse.—As on the vir-raya fanams of Kalikut.

3. The kali or kali-yugen rajen fanam (=money of the kali-yuga), at one time current over the whole of Kerala. Gold.—Weight 5·4 grs.

Obverse and reverse resemble the devices described on the vir-raya fanam of Kalikut.

4. The Anandaramen fanam. Gold.—Weight 5·7 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 9.

Obverse.—Crescent with twelve pellets above, characters below.

Reverse.—The “Nandipada” symbol and pellets.

5. The Chinna (=small) fanam, the half of No. 4. Gold.—Weight 2·8 grs.

Obverse and reverse as No. 4.

“They (Nos. 4 and 5) appear to have been coined under the direction of the Dewan² in the reign of the King Rama Raja, 1758–98, when the finances of the country, which had been somewhat embarrassed, were re-established by the levy of an additional land tax and the reform of the coinage. This currency was only retained for a period, and has since been discontinued by Dewan Venkata Rao.”³

6. Gold fanam.—Weight 5·5 to 6 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 8.

Obverse.—Dagger.

Reverse.—Heart-shaped device containing twelve pellets, crescent above.

¹ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 137.

² Anant Ram.

³ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 138.

7. Gold fanam.—Weight 5·5 to 6 grs.
Obverse.—Twelve pellets and lines.
Reverse.—As the obverse.
8. Gold fanam.—Weight 5·5 to 6 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 10.
Obverse.—A kind of dagger and other marks.
Reverse.—Symbols and characters.
9. The old velli (=silver) fanam. Silver.—Weight 22·9 grs.
Obverse.—As the kali fanam, but with floral wreath round the edge.
Reverse.—A double branch facing both right and left, the whole within a Tamil legend indicating the value.
10. The new velli (=silver) fanam; the equivalent of 4 chakrams; issued in 1868–9.
11. Treble chakram. Silver.—Weight 16 grs.
Obverse.—Sankha shell and crescent.
Reverse.—Curved object and twelve pellets.
12. Treble chakram. Silver.—Weight 16 grs.
Obverse.—As No. 11.
Reverse.—Figure of Vishnu.
13. Double chakram. Silver.—Weight 11·5 grs.
Obverse.—Sankha or conch shell and pellets.
Reverse.—Two equilateral triangles interlaced, forming a six-pointed diagram, commonly known as “Solomon’s seal.”
14. Chakram. Silver.—Weight from 5·5 to 6 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 11.
 - (a) *Obverse.*—Curved line, twelve pellets, three-leaved spray.
Reverse.—“Nandipada” symbol.
 - (b) *Obverse.*—Curved line and two pellets.
Reverse.—Curved line and pellets.
 - (c) *Obverse.*—As (b).
Reverse.—Curved and straight lines.
15. Half chakram. Silver.—Weight 3 grs.
Obverse.—Sankha or conch shell.
Reverse.—Solomon’s seal.

The shell on some of these half chakrams resembles the “murex” shell.

THE ANANTAN KASU.

“This name suggests that the figure of a cobra on the obverse is meant for the serpent King Ananta, with whom the name of the capital

of Travancore TIRUVANANTAPURAM (Trivandrum), is popularly connected."¹

1. Copper 8 cash ($=\frac{1}{2}$ chuckram).—Weight 80 grs. A.D. 1735–6. Plate II, Fig. 1.
Obverse.—A five-headed cobra : below it in Tamil காசு ௮ = Kasu 8 = 8 cash.
Reverse.—The Tengalai Vaishnava mark : below it the Tamil figures க ட க = 911, followed by the abbreviation for varusham (varsha) = year, i.e., 911 of the Kollam era = A.D. 1735–6.
2. Copper 4 cash ($=\frac{1}{2}$ chuckram).—Weight 40 grs. A.D. 1735–6. *Ind. Ant.* Dec., 1896, No. 23. Plate II, Fig. 2.
Obverse.—As No. 1, but Tamil கா [சு] ௪ = Kasu 4 = 4 cash.
Reverse.—As No. 1.
3. Copper 2 cash.—Weight 20 grs. A.D. 1741–2. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 20. Plate II, Fig. 3.
Obverse.—As No. 1 but Tamil கா [சு] ௨ = Kasu 2 = 2 cash.
Reverse.—As No. 1 but year க ட எ = 917 of the Kollam era = A.D. 1741–2.
4. Copper 1 cash.—Weight 10 grs. A.D. 1735–6. Plate II, Fig. 4.
Obverse.—As No. 1 but Tamil காசு ௧ = Kasu 1 = 1 cash.
Reverse.—As No. 1.
5. Copper 1 cash.—Weight 10 grs. A.D. 1741–2. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 19.
Obverse.—As No. 3 but Tamil காசு ௧ = Kasu 1 = 1 cash.
Reverse.—As No. 3.

TRAVANCORE COPPER COINS.

1. Cash.—Weight 10 grs.
 (a) *Obverse.*—The standing figure of a four-armed god, said to be Vishnu or Krishna.
Reverse.—Solomon's seal, in rayed circle.
 (b) *Obverse.*—Spiny murex shell in lined circle.
Reverse.—Vishnu in lined circle.
2. 2 cash.—Weight 20 grains.
Obverse.—Vishnu or Krishna with a sprig or branch under the arm, and Malayalam figure 2.
Reverse.—Solomon's seal in rayed circle.
3. 4 cash.—Weight 40 grs.
Obverse.—As No. 2, but Malayalam figure 4.
Reverse.—As No. 2.

¹ Dr. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896.

4. 8 cash (= $\frac{1}{2}$ chuckram).—Weight 80 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 14.
Obverse.—Spiny murex shell : Malayalam legend “ara chakram”=half a chakram.
Reverse.—Solomon’s seal in rayed circle.
5. 4 cash (= $\frac{1}{4}$ chuckram).—Weight 40 grs. Plate II, Fig. 8.
Obverse.—As No. 4 but quarter of a chuckram.
Reverse.—As No. 4.

Modern Gold Coins of Travancore.

Raja Rama Varma, G.C.S.I., A.D. 1860–80.

1. Gold double pagoda. Bidie, No. 22.—Weight 79 grs.
Obverse.—The sacred shell surrounded by a wreath.
Reverse.—Round the margin TRAVANCORE, in the centre within a wreath ¹⁸⁷⁷, R.V. being the initials of the raja.
2. Gold pagoda. As No. 1.—Weight 39·5 grains.

Raja Rama Varma, A.D. 1880.

3. Double pagoda.—Weight 79 grs.
Obverse.—As No. 1.
Reverse.—In wreath the Malayalam legend SRI | PADMA | NABHA = “lotus in navel” scil. Vishnu.
4. Pagoda.—Weight 39·5 grs. As No. 3.
5. $\frac{1}{2}$ pagoda.—Weight 19·5 grs. As No. 3. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 15.

Modern Silver Coins of Travancore.

Raja Rama Varma, A.D. 1880.

- $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee, 1889.
Obverse.—The sacred shell within a wreath surrounded by Malayalam legend.
Reverse.— $\frac{1}{4}$ RUPEE within wreath: RAJA VURMA above, TRAVANCORE below.
- $\frac{1}{8}$ rupee. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 13.
Obverse.—R.V. (the initials of the maharajah) within a wreath.
Reverse.—Numeral in centre of wreath.

*Modern Copper Coins of Travancore.**Raja Rama Varma*, A.D. 1880. Plate II, Figs. 5 to 7.

1. 1 chuckram.—Weight 160 grs.

Obverse.—The sacred shell in lined circle ; the whole within a wreath.*Reverse*.—The letters R.V. (initials of the maharajah) surrounded by CHUCKRAM ONE in English and Malayalam.

2. 8 cash.—Weight 80 grs.

Obverse.—As No. 1.*Reverse*.—As No 1 but CASH EIGHT in English and Malayalam.

3. 4 cash.—Weight 40 grs.

Obverse.—As No. 1.*Reverse*.—As No. 1 but CASH FOUR in English and Malayalam.

THE PARTIALITY OF THE NATIVES OF SOUTHERN INDIA FOR SMALL
PIECES OF MONEY, AND THE CHAKRAM BOARD OF TRAVANCORE.

“The trouble of reckoning and carrying about such small pieces (*i.e.*, gold fanams and half-fanams) might have been thought to prove adverse to their popularity, but the modern practice of Travancore shows that this is not found to be an obstacle in transacting business. Of the two coins in popular daily use there, viz., the silver chakram and the cash, the former, being ‘small and globose, is exceedingly difficult to count or handle. . . . £100 sterling amounts to 28,500 chakrams, weighing 24 pounds avoirdupois, and hours would be wasted in reckoning this number of small coins. They are therefore measured or counted by means of a “chakram board,” a small square wooden plate with a given number of holes the exact size and depth of a chakram. . . . A small handful of coins is thrown on the board, which is then shaken gently from side to side so as to cause a single chakram to fall into each cavity, and the surplus, if any, is swept off with the hand. A glance at the board, when filled, shows that it contains the exact number of coins for which it is intended. The rapid manipulation of this simple but ingenious implement requires some practice, but the Government clerks and native merchants are exceedingly expert and exact in its performance.’¹ Although the use

¹ Elliot, *C.S.I.*, p. 148, and Mateers’ *Land of Charity*, p. 111.

of this expedient does not appear to have extended beyond Malabar, its employment in that district to the present day exemplifies the partiality of the natives for such small pieces of money." Even minute gold coins weighing from 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains—the $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ fanam—have been noted in Southern India. "Some of them are distinguished for their great purity, from which circumstance they are called 'Aparanji' fanams."

THE PANDYA KINGDOM.

The first mention of the Pandya in Indian history is in Asoka's edict, when they, as well as the Cholas and Cheras, were recognized as distinct powers in Southern India. Their country was bounded to the north by the River Vaygar, according to Dowson, or by a line 60 miles to the east, passing through Karur, according to Wilks. Their first capital was Korkey or Korkoi (the *Κολχοι* of the *Periplus*), now identified in the modern village of Maramangalam. Madura afterwards became the chief city, which is spoken of by Ptolemy and is mentioned in the *Periplus*, where Cape Comorin and other localities were said to be under King Pandion, *ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πανδίωνα*. This carries us back to A.D. 139–161, the time of Ptolemy's writings, and to 500 B.C., that of the *Periplus*. The site of the capital has probably been shifted more than once, as old Madura is on the north bank of the Vaygar, and about a mile from the present city, which is on the south bank. The *Chronicle of Madura* gives a list of two Pandyan dynasties, of seventy-three kings, from the fifth century B.C. to A.D. 699, and of forty-three kings from that date to the fourteenth century respectively. As, however, these lists have not been confirmed by inscriptions they are of little historical value. The Pandyan dynasty fell under the dominion of the Cholas between A.D. 1064 and 1113.

Madura was captured in A.D. 1311 by the general of 'Alau-d-din of Delhi. An independent Mussulman line of rulers held it from A.D. 1334–1377, their line being ended by the Vijayanagara dynasty, which in its turn was overwhelmed in A.D. 1565. The Nayakas of Madura, who had been feudatories of Vijayanagara, governed until 1736. In 1740 the Madura district fell into the hands of the Nawab

of the Karnatik. In 1762 the British took charge of it for Muhammad Ali, the last independent Nawab.

The special cognizance of the Pandyans was the figure of a fish in various combinations. The king's title was Minavan (the fish-one), and the name of the tutelary deity worshipped in the great temple was Minatchi (vulgarly Minakshi, "fish-eyed").

Coins of the Korkey Pandyans.

Their earliest coinage consisted of the "punch-marked" pieces already described. The following die-struck copper coins have been attributed¹ to them :—

1. *Obverse*.—The elephant.
Reverse.—Plain.
2. *Obverse*.—As No. 1.
Reverse.—The Buddhist shaccram.
3. *Obverse*.—The elephant as chief mark with secondary emblems, as the moon above and the battle-axe in front.
Reverse.—As No. 2.

These heraldic marks doubtless signified some important historical event. The coins are smaller and thinner than those described as found in Madura and have variant secondary marks. As both series were contemporary, Mr. Loventhal thinks that there were two Pandyan dynasties, one in Korkey and the other in Madura.

4. *Obverse*.—Bull with flower-pot in front.
Reverse.—As No. 2.
5. Emblems, such as stars, wheels, lines, scrolls, crosses and other figures on both sides, replace the elephant and secondary marks.
6. Dynastic emblems reappear with Brahmanical marks.

Nos. 5 and 6 are common throughout Southern India and are said² to have belonged from the fourth to sixth centuries A.D., when Buddhism and Brahmanism were fighting together.

7. *Obverse*.—The elephant; above Tamil letter ஸ (Sa = Santra = the moon).
Reverse.—The figure of a man in fighting attitude; battle-axe and moon.

¹ Loventhal's *Coins of Tinnevely*, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

This figure has been called the "Ceylon type" and "Rakshas," but Mr. Loventhal thinks it is the king himself, and urges that it is not likely that the same Vishnu worshippers who chose a Garudan figure for the obverse of their coins would put a "Rakshas," the very enemy of the gods, on the reverse. This figure was afterwards adopted by the Cholas of Ceylon and by the other Cholas for their coinage.

8. *Obverse*.—The Garudan.

Reverse.—The figure of the king, battle-axe, and moon.

Nos. 7 and 8 are thought to date from the sixth or seventh century to the twelfth century A.D.

9. *Obverse*.—The figure of the king standing.

Reverse.—The figure of the king seated, battle-axe and moon.

10. *Obverse*.—Siva and Parvati.

Reverse.—Battle-axe with sun and moon.

11. *Obverse*.—The Garudan.

Reverse.—The V-shaped Vishnavite symbol with conch and discus on each side.

As this coin is impressed with all Vishnu marks it would appear that the old dynasty had been abolished, or that the state religion had been changed from Saivism to the Vaishnava faith—probably the former, as the battle-axe and moon, which showed the king's descent, are wanting.

THE MADURA PANDYAN COINS.

The earliest copper coins were—

1. *Obverse*.—Bull without the flower-pot.

Reverse.—The Buddhist shaccram.

2. *Obverse*.—Horse and, in front, the holy tree (Bodhi tree).

Reverse.—As No. 2.

3. *Obverse*.—The elephant.

Reverse.—A lion.

These coins are found in the river-bed itself, near the site of old Madura.

4. The coins numbered 5 and 6, under "Korkey Pandyan coins."

After the issue of the coins numbered 4, it is thought¹ that the Madura Pandyans chose the fish mark as their dynastical emblem, that is, when they left Buddhism, they changed the elephant mark and took instead of it a pure Vishnu mark—the fish.

The fish appears on their coins as follows :—

- a. The fish singly with the sun and moon in the field.
- b. Two fishes with either a sceptre or inscription between.
- c. Two fishes crossed.
- d. The fish in the exergue, with a dancing figure of Garuda in the field.

“The constant warfare which raged between Chola and Pandyan not only renders it well nigh impossible to fix the exact boundaries of their respective territories at any particular time, but also causes considerable uncertainty in the identity of a large number of their coins. When the Pandyans conquered, they appeared to have retained the fish, adding thereto the Chola emblem; and when the Cholas were victorious they returned the compliment,”² thus the following coins appear :—

- a. The Chola name of RAJA RAJA with Chola emblem and Pandyan fish.
- b. The name of Sundara Pandyan, and, on the obverse, the standing figure of the Cholas.
- c. The boar of the Chalukyan dynasty in combination with the two fishes and sceptre of the Pandyan.

Pandyan Coins.

1. Gold.—Weight 57 grs. Elliot, No. 129.
Obverse.—Two fishes under an umbrella, lamp on right, fly whisk on left, sun and moon above.
Reverse.—Unread Nagari legend.
2. Gold.—Weight 6·5 grs. *J.A.S.B.*, 1886, p. 159, No. 22.
Obverse.—Two fishes.
Reverse.—AHAVA MALLA, “Lover of War.”
3. Gold.—Weight 6·2 grs. Elliot, No. 131. Doubtful.
Obverse.—One fish.
Reverse.—Figure before an altar.

¹ Loventhal, p. 8.

² Tufnell's *Hints*, p. 11.

4. Gold.—Weight 58·8 grs. *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xvii; Moor's *Hin Pan.*, Plate 104, Figs. 9 and 11; Elliot, p. 119.
Obverse.—Fish only.
Reverse.—Ancient Nagari legend unread.
5. Copper. Elliot, No. 133. Loventhal, Nos. 69, 70.
Obverse.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Fish on either side of sceptre flanked by lamps. Above in Tamil VIRA PANDYA.
6. Copper. Tufnell, No. 15.
Obverse.—Dancing figure of Garuda to right.
Reverse.—Tamil legend SAMARA KOLAHALA.
7. Copper. Elliot, No. 134.
Obverse.—Garuda to right with sankha and chakra above.
Reverse.—As No. 6.
8. Copper. Elliot, No. 135.
Obverse.—Garuda kneeling on the fish.
Reverse.—Tamil legend SAMARA KOLAHALAN.
9. Copper. Elliot, No. 136.
Obverse.—Standing figure with two characters to right.
Reverse.—Fish between lamps: margin SAMARA KOLAHALA.
10. Copper. Elliot, No. 137.
Obverse.—As No. 9.
Reverse.—Two fishes surrounded by Tamil legend SAMARA KOLAHALA.
11. Copper. Elliot, No. 138.
Obverse.—Garuda carrying a bow.
Reverse.—Tamil legend BHUVANEKA VIRAN.
12. Copper. Elliot, No. 139.
Obverse.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—In old Tamil KORKAI ANDAR="Ruler of Korkai."
13. Copper. Tufnell, No. 14. Elliot, No. 114.
Obverse.—Two fishes crossed with sceptre and moon.
Reverse.—KANCHI VELANKUN PERUMAL=the king who gave back Kanchi (or Conjeeveram).
14. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 8.
Obverse.—Two fishes.
Reverse.—SRI AVANI | PASEGARAN | GOLAGA in Tamil="the round coin of the glorious Avanipasekhara" (*i.e.*, the ornament of princes).
15. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 9.
Obverse.—A standing figure facing the right.
Reverse.—SONA | DU KO | NDAN in Tamil="He who conquered the Chola country." (Sonadu being a contraction of Solanadu.)

16. Copper. See Loventhal, Nos. 71 to 75.
Obverse.—Seated figure.
Reverse.—Sceptre between two fishes with name KULASEKHARA PANDYA in Tamil above.
17. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 10.
Obverse.—Standing figure facing the right.
Reverse.—Two fishes; between them in Tamil EL-LA-NTA-LAIY-ANAN=Ellan-talaiy-anan="He who is chief of the world." (Sundara Pandya.)
18. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1892, No. 11.
Obverse.—As No. 17.
Reverse.—The two fishes surrounded by Tamil legend ELLAN-TALAIYA.
19. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 12.
Obverse.—A standing figure with the Tamil syllable SU on the right side.
Reverse.—A fish between two lamps, surrounded by Tamil legend ELLANTALAIYA.
20. Copper. Loventhal, Nos. 78, 79.
Obverse.—Fish and sceptre.
Reverse.—One or two letters of Sundara Pandya's name in Tamil.
21. Copper. Loventhal, Nos. 80, 81.
Obverse.—The standing figure.
Reverse.—Portions of Sundara Pandya's name in Tamil.
22. Copper. "Podi Kasu" (Powder Cash) of the Natives. Loventhal, Nos. 82-85.
Obverse.—Portions of the standing figure.
Reverse.—The first letter of Sundara Pandya's name in Tamil.
23. Copper. Elliot, No. 140.
Obverse.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Seated figure, and Tamil legend KUNA PANDYA.
24. Copper. Elliot, No. 141.
Obverse.—Sceptre between two fishes under a crescent.
Reverse.—SUNDARA PANDYA in Tamil.
25. Copper. Elliot, No. 142.
Obverse.—Horse galloping to right under three symbols.
Reverse.—Sceptre between two fishes; above a bull to left with fly whisks.

26. Copper. Elliot, No. 143.

Obverse.—Standing figure.

Reverse.—Crocodile to left, KE above and a crab or scorpion, two fishes facing inwards below.

27. Copper. Elliot, No. 146.

Obverse.—Standing figure.

Reverse.—Seated figure and sceptre between two fishes.

28. Copper. Elliot, No. 150.

Obverse.—Bull to right with sun and moon above.

Reverse.—Sceptre between two fishes.

The Pandyan copper coins are chiefly found in Madura, and occur in three sizes, weighing 60, 24, and 9 grains respectively. The gold coins are very rare.

The coins of Sundara Pandya (Pandya the beautiful) are found in such large quantities in Southern India that it is possible that they were the issues of several kings who bore this title. Sundara was also the name of the husband of Minatchi, the goddess of Madura.

The following copper coins, which bear no legend, are attributed by Tufnell¹ to the Madura Pandyan kings from the fact of their being found in considerable numbers, and often in conjunction with Pandyan issues, at the old Pandyan headquarters, and the certainty that the people were ardent worshippers of Siva in the form mentioned :—

1. *Obverse*.—The lingam (the phallic emblem of the worshippers of Siva), which appears on the coins : *a*, plain, Tufnell, No. 16 ; *b*, surrounded by a row of dots ; *c*, in a “vimana” or shrine.

Reverse.—Two standing figures.

2. *Obverse*.—The lingam : *a*, on the back of a bull (the sacred bull being the favourite attendant of Siva), Tufnell, No. 17 ; *b*, on a bird (possibly in relation to Minakshi, Siva’s wife, the goddess of Madura).

Reverse.—Two standing figures.

¹ Tufnell’s *Hints*, p. 16.

COINAGE OF THE NAYAKAS OF MADURA.

Visvanatha I., A.D. 1557-63; *Visvanatha* II., A.D. 1573-95;
Visvanatha III., A.D. 1595-1602—

1. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 14. Tracy Pandyan coins, *Madr. Jr. Lit. and Sc.*, 1887-8, No. 9.
Obverse.—Standing figure facing right.
Reverse.—A sceptre between two fishes, surmounted by a crescent, and surrounded by the Tamil-Grantha legend VI-N-SVA-DA-NA.
2. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 15.
Obverse.—A sceptre between two fishes.
Reverse.—A crescent; below the Tamil-Grantha legend VISVA-NADA-N.
3. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 16.
Obverse.—A sceptre between two fishes; above them the Tamil legend PAN-DIYAN.
Reverse.—As No. 2.

“This coin shows that he wanted to be considered the rightful successor of the Pandya dynasty.”—(Dr. Hultzsch.)

Tirumala, A.D. 1623-59—

4. Copper. Elliot, No. 144.
Obverse.—A sceptre between two fishes.
Reverse.—A standing figure; under the arm in Tamil TERUMALAI.

Queen Minakshi, A.D. 1731-36—

5. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 21.
Obverse.—Lion facing the right.
Reverse.—MINA-TCHI in Tamil.

Minakshi is also the name of the goddess of Madura, so the reverse may refer to the goddess, or to the queen, or to both at the same time.

6. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 22.
Obverse.—As No. 5.
Reverse.—MADU-RAI in Tamil.
7. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 23.
Obverse.—MADHURA in Telugu.
Reverse.—MADU-RAI in Tamil.

Dr. Hultzsch remarks "the obverse of No. 6 connects this coin with No. 5. The bilingual coin No. 7 agrees with No. 6 in the reverse, which bears the Tamil name of the city of Madura, whilst its Telugu equivalent occupies the obverse."

8. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 8.
Obverse.—A standing figure.
Reverse.—Concave, SRI-MI-NAKSHI.

Mudu Krishna, A.D. 1602-9—

9. Copper. Dr. Hultzsch, *Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, No. 38.
Obverse.—TIRU-VE-MGA [LA] in Telugu = "The holy [mountain of] Venkata."
Reverse.—MUDU KRISHNA in Telugu.

COINS PROBABLY OF THE NAYAKAS OF MADURA ISSUED IN THE NAME OF THEIR NOMINAL SOVEREIGN VENKATA, THE PAGEANT KING OF VIJAYANAGARA.

1. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 17.
Obverse.—A standing figure.
Reverse.—VEMKA-TAPA in Telugu.
2. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 18.
Obverse.—Three standing figures.
Reverse.—VEMKA | [TA] PANA | [YAKA] in Telugu.
3. Copper. Hultzsch, No. 37. Elliot, No. 177.
Obverse.—Vishnu standing; on his right a fish.
Reverse.—VEMKA-TAPA in Telugu.
4. Copper. Hultzsch, No. 39.
Obverse.—A kneeling figure of Garuda facing the left.
Reverse.—VEMKATA in Telugu.

Other coins probably of the Nayakas of Madura.

5. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 9.
Obverse.—[MA]D[I]RAI in Tamil.
Reverse.—TANCHAI in Grantha.

"Madirai or Madurai and Tanjai are Tamil names of the two towns Madhura and Tanjavur."—(Dr. Hultzsch.)

6. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 19.
Obverse.—A kneeling figure facing the right.
Reverse.—VI-RABHA-DRA in Grantha.
7. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 20.
Obverse.—A kneeling figure of Garuda facing the right.
Reverse.—SRI-A-NAMTA in Kanarese.
8. Silver.—Weight 31 grs. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 7.
Obverse.—A male figure, squatting, wearing ear-rings, and holding a bow in the right hand.
Reverse.—SRI-VIRA in Telugu.

“Copper coins with the same legend are found in endless numbers and varieties in Madhura. But no second specimen in silver is known. Sir W. Elliot attributed two copper coins of this series (Nos. 94 and 95) to the Kakatiyas or the Reddis. But, though the legend of these coins is engraved in Telugu characters, their finding place, Madhura, forces us to connect them—as was first done by the Rev. E. Loventhal in his *Coins of Tinnevely*, Madras, 1880, p. 20—with the only Telugu dynasty which is known to have resided there, viz., the Nayakas. The legend SRI VIRA may refer to, and may have been started by, one of the four different Nayakas who bore the name Virappa.”¹

9. The following devices appear on the obverse of the copper coins in my collection found in the Madura district, which bear the Telugu legend SRI VIRA on the reverse :—

All these coins, with the exceptions of Nos. 5, 15, 20, and 28, are illustrated on PLATE I :—

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Hanuman facing right. | 9. Two figures on unreal figure. |
| 2. Ganesa. | 10. Two men standing. |
| 3. Irhuce. | 11. Two figures on bird to right. |
| 4. Squatting Narasinha (the lion-faced form of Vishnu), No. 1 size. | 12. One figure on bird to right. |
| 5. Similar, No. 2 size. | 13. One figure on bird to left. |
| 6. Squatting god and goddess, No. 1 size. | 14. Elephant to right. |
| 7. Similar, No. 2 size. | 15. Elephant to left. |
| 8. Man. | 16. Squatting or dancing girl. |
| | 17. Bull to right. |
| | 18. Bull to left, in two sizes. |
| | 19. Lion to right, No. 1 size. |

¹ Dr. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 318.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 20. Lion to left, No. 2 size. | 25. The lingam. |
| 21. Bird to left. | 26. Star. |
| 22. Flying bird. | 27. Sun and moon, two varieties. |
| 23. Horse to left. | 28. Sun, moon, and sword. |
| 24. Vadh-mava mark. | 29. Squatting figure. |

Copper coins bearing the Telugu legend SRI VIRA on the reverse are also found in the Tinnevely district with various devices on the obverse. These are figured, Nos. 92 to 123, in Loventhal's *Coins of Tinnevely*.¹ With regard to these coins Mr. Loventhal remarks :— "The earlier of the Madura Nayakas must have thought it wise not to dethrone the old Pandya rajahs but even allow them to have their own coinage, at least for a time ; for just about that period a new coinage was introduced in Madura district with a Garudan on the obverse, and on the reverse either the traditional two fishes and a sceptre, or one of the names 'Samarakolakalan' or 'Puvanekaviran' in Tamil characters. These coins seem, however, not to have been current in Tinnevely . . . but in place of them we find a whole series of Nayaka coins, evidently of much earlier date than those we get either from Madura or Trichinopoly districts. From this it would seem that the Nayakas of Madura did not find it necessary to have the same regard to the old dynasty in Tinnevely district as they did in Madura itself, but began immediately to issue coins there with their own marks. . . . Nearly all the Nayaka coins from Madura and Trichinopoly, and also the coins of the Vellore Rayars have that inscription (SRI VIRA) on the reverse, only those from Tinnevely being different, so they are easy to recognize. The Tinnevely coins are also, as a rule, of a better workmanship and larger than the others. Of all the coins belonging to this series those with the Hanuman mark are by far the most common. I have about 200 copies of them, and as they differ very much one from another, they must have been current for a long time. I have even reason to believe that they have been carried down to the time of the Nawabs. But what then about all the rest ; to whom do these numerous coins with all different marks belong ? It would nearly seem impossible to ascribe them all to the chief line of

¹ Also see Plate I.

Nayakas. Have they . . . given the right of striking coins to some of their Polygars, or in what other way can we explain that multitude of marks on the coins from that period ? . . . As long as the Vijayanagara rajahs continued to rule, that is to the year 1565, the old heraldry was, at least to some degree, kept up, but from that time . . . all historical marks on the coins were done away with, and every petty rajah put his own favourite idol on his coins, and whenever he got tired of one he chose another. . . . The coins from this period have an interest of their own, which the older and more historical have not. . . . They form a sort of Hindu Pantheon, *en miniature*. There had been a new revival of Brahminism, the Vijayanagara rajahs and the earlier of the Nayakas had built the grand temples of South India and adorned them with a multitude of sculptures, and now their successors put all these "swamis" from the temples and mandapas on their small button-like coins, one rajah trying to surpass another in putting the most curious and fantastic figures on his coins. Although the Hindu coins from North India are more historical in their way, they are not a true image of the Hindu mind; the Muhammadan influence having been so overwhelming there, that it has pressed its own features even upon the Hindu coinage. This is not the case in South India, and especially the coins from this period are a *true picture of the Hindu mind*. Free from all heraldic restraints it shows itself here in all its fantastic splendour, such as it was at the time, and in this way these coins, without historical marks, form an historical witness of the last revival of Brahmanism, now rapidly fading away before the light of European civilization, never to revive again."¹

The following copper coins² may have been struck at Madura at the commencement of the rule of the Nawabs of the Karnatik or they may be Polygar coins :—

Obverse.—Various Hindu idols, animals, etc.

Reverse.—NAWAB, or MAHA-NAWAB, or SAHIB in Tamil.

THE CHOLA DYNASTY.

The Cholas occupied their position on the Coromandel (or more properly Cholamundel) coast before the Christian era. Their dominions

¹ Loventhal, p. 20 (slightly adapted).

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

extended northward to the Pennar River, and the capital was Uraiyur, perhaps the Orthoura of Ptolemy. About the seventh century the capital was transferred to Malaikurram (Cumbaconum), later to Gangandaram (Gangaikonda - Solapuram), and finally to Tanjore. Their power was in the ascendant from early in the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century, and extended from the Godaveri to Cape Comorin. About the middle of the thirteenth century the Hoysala Ballalas exercised considerable control over their dominions, and afterwards the Muhammadan conquest of the south took place. Their cognizance was a tiger.

Coinage of the Cholas.

Rajendra-Chola Deva I., surnamed Gangaikonda Chola—

1. Impure silver.—Weight 62 grs. Elliot, No. 152. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 7.

Obverse and reverse.—The same, viz., in the centre a seated tiger facing right with two fishes in front and a bow behind, the whole between two lamps surmounted by a parasol and two fly-whisks; underneath the legend in Nagari GAMGAIKONDA-CHOLA[H] = "The Chola [king] who conquered the Ganga." Gangaikonda-Solapuram being the name of a ruined city in one of the taluks of the Trichinopoly district.

Raja Raja Deva, A.D. 984—

2. Impure silver.—Weight 51·5 grs. *Int. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 1.

Obverse.—The typical squatting figure; under its left arm a tiger, seated facing the left, flanked by two lamps, and surmounted by a parasol.

Reverse.—As No. 1, but Nagari legend SRI-RAJARA-[JADEVAH].

Rajendra-Chola Deva I.—

3. Impure silver.—Weight 30 grs. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 2.

Obverse and reverse.—The same as No. 2, but Nagari legend RAJENDRA-CHOLA.

Parakesarivarman, alias Rajendra Deva—

4. Impure silver.—Weight 62·6 grs. Elliot, No. 153. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, p. 323. As No. 1, but Nagari legend SRI RAJENDRAH.

Kulottunga Chola I., surnamed Rajanarayana, A.D. 1070—

5. Gold.—Weight 61·5 grs. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 26. Found near Masulipatam.

Centre.—A tiger facing right surmounted by the sun, the figure of a fly-whisk bearer (?) and a crescent; below the tiger's head, the Telugu numeral 6 for the year of the reign of king; margin in Telugu SRI-CH[O]LANARAYANA.

6. Gold.—Weight 61·5 grs. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 27.

Centre.—A tiger (?) facing left, and surmounted by the sun and a crescent; margin as No. 5.

Other kings—

7. Gold. Elliot, No. 165.

Obverse.—Standing figure with crescent, fish below four dots.

Reverse.—Seated figure and RAJA RAJA.

8. Gold.—Weight 7·2 grs. Elliot, No. 155.

Obverse.—Tiger in the centre facing right, surmounted by the imperial umbrella, between the bow on left and two fishes on right.

Reverse.—Nagari legend YUDDHA MALLAH.

9. Gold.—Weight 6·7 grs. Elliot, No. 156.

Obverse.—Fish and tiger seated under a crescent.

Reverse. Not plain.

10. Gold.—Weight 50–60 grs. Elliot, No. 151.

Obverse and reverse.—The same, viz., a tiger seated left, opposite it a fish, over the head of each an elephant goad and behind the tiger in Grantha characters UTTAMA-CHOLAN.

11. Impure silver.—Weight 62·6 grs. Elliot, No. 154.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—Nagari legend UTTAMA-CHOLAH.

As the Cholas struck coins during their occupation of Rajamahendri, or Vengi, in the Chalukya territory, several of the above refer to the Chola-Chalukya period. The constant warfare waged between the Cholas, Pandyan, and Cheras caused great variations in the emblems on the coins of these dynasties, the Pandyan adding the Chola emblem, and the Cholas adding the Pandyan fish to commemorate their victories.

CHOLA COPPER COINS.

" Their coins are usually distinguishable by the rude figure of a man standing upright (said to be a ' rakshasa ' ¹ or the king ² himself), with head thrown back, and apparently holding in front of his face a flower. In his pendent right arm he holds a weapon (?). A straight line between his legs, and a wavy line on either side, mark his flowing ' duputa ' or cloth, and under his left arm usually appear five dots. The reverse bears a similar figure curled up in an uncomfortable position, with legs crossed, its right hand resting on the right leg. Beneath the left arm we usually find the name of the king, or rarely some emblem, such as the Pandyan fish." ³

Obverse.—The standing figure as described.

Reverse.—The seated figure as described, RAJA RAJA in Nagari to the right. Elliot, No. 166 ; Tufnell, No. 6.

These coins are found in Madura and Tanjore in considerable numbers and used to be melted by the coppersmiths. They occur in three sizes, weighing 60, 24, and 9 grains respectively. They were issued by " Raja Raja, the greatest of the Chola princes, who ruled in the eleventh century A.D., when the power of his race was at its zenith. So plentiful are they that one cannot help being led to the conclusion that all those one meets with, bearing his name, could more probably be attributed to a line of kings than all be issues of a single sovereign." ³ These coins are found also in large numbers all over Southern India from the northern boundary of the Chola country down to Cape Comorin, " and although they have the same marks on them, still one has so different an appearance from another, that they could positively not be from the same time and the same king. I have no doubt that they have been currency in Chola country for centuries." ⁴

The coins of the Chola branch line in Ceylon bearing the name RAJA RAJA may be distinguished by (1) the figures standing out in bolder relief ; (2) the Nagari letters being of a squarer type ; and (3) the square edges—those of the Indian type being worn thin. " These

¹ Elliot.

³ Tufnell's *Hints*, p. 11.

² Loventhal.

⁴ Loventhal, p. 19.

coins were struck by the kings of Kandy, the Indian Chola coin being in all probability the prototype. The incursions of the Cholas would naturally lead to the introduction of their coins, and it is more than probable that this led to the coinage of the series in the island."¹

1. Elliot, No. 158.
Obverse.—Seated figure, RAJA RAJA under the arm.
Reverse.—Boar to left, VIRA in Tamil above.
2. Elliot, No. 159.
Obverse.—Standing figure with crescent above.
Reverse.—Boar, sun, moon, and lamp above a scroll.
3. Elliot, No. 160.
Obverse.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Two fishes surrounded by RAJA RAJA.
4. Elliot, No. 161.
Obverse.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Seated figure, fish and sceptre under the arm.
5. Elliot, No. 162. $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ sizes.
Obverse.—Seated figure and RAJA RAJA.
Reverse.—Horseman between two umbrellas, galloping right.
6. Elliot, No. 163. $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ sizes.
Obverse.—Seated figure.
Reverse.—Two horses and rider, umbrellas above.
7. Elliot, No. 164.
Obverse.—Standing figure of Krishna as the flute player.
Reverse.—Seated figure and RAJA RAJA.
8. Elliot, No. 167. $\frac{1}{2}$ size. Tufnell, No. 13.
Obverse.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Bull to right, sun and moon. Nagari letter व (V) in front of the bull, perhaps the initial of the royal name Vikrama.
9. Elliot, No. 169. $\frac{1}{2}$ size.
Obverse.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Bull to right, crescent above; crozier or shell in front.
10. Elliot, No. 170. $\frac{1}{2}$ size.
Obverse.—Standing figure, lozenge enclosing pellet in front.
Reverse.—Seated figure with axe on its right.
11. Elliot, No. 171. $\frac{1}{2}$ size.
Obverse.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Elephant to left, sankha above its head, also an inscription.

¹ Tufnell, p. 13.

12. Elliot, No. 173. $\frac{1}{2}$ size.

Obverse.—Standing bull to left, lamp in front.

Reverse.—KONERI RAYAN.

COPPER COINS PROBABLY OF THE NAYAKAS OF TANJORE.

The following coins, with the exception of Nos. 15 and 18, are illustrated on PLATE I :—

1. *Obverse*.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Sitting figure and standing figure.
2. *Obverse*.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Sitting figure.
3. *Obverse*.—Standing figure in dotted circle.
Reverse.—Standing figure in lined circle.
4. *Obverse*.—Hanuman.
Reverse.—Two sitting figures.
5. *Obverse*.—Garuda.
Reverse.—Two standing figures.
6. *Obverse*.—Hanuman.
Reverse.—Standing figure.
7. *Obverse*.—Garuda.
Reverse.—Tamil characters.
8. *Obverse*.—Hanuman.
Reverse.—Characters.
9. *Obverse*.—Three sitting figures.
Reverse.—Characters.
10. *Obverse*.—Three standing figures, two usually appearing on the arms of the third.
Reverse.—Characters.
11. *Obverse*.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Characters.
12. *Obverse*.—Hanuman riding a horse to left with a spear in his hand.
Reverse.—Sitting figure.
13. *Obverse*.—Standing figure.
Reverse.—Star.
14. *Obverse*.—Figure riding on bird.
Reverse.—Characters.
15. *Obverse*.—Umbrella.
Reverse.—Characters.

16. *Obverse*.—Tortoise.
Reverse.—Characters.
17. *Obverse*.—Lion.
Reverse.—Characters.
18. *Obverse*.—God and goddess seated.
Reverse.—In Nagari RAGHU-NATHA (third Nayaka? *Ind., Ant.*, 1896, No. 15).

The Nayakas of Tanjore were succeeded by the Mahratta Rajas of Tanjore, A.D. 1676–1855. In 1799 Tanjore was ceded to the East India Company, which agreed to pay one-fifth of the net revenue to the rajah. On the death of the last of the line, in 1855, the house became extinct, and Tanjore became British territory.

COPPER COINS OF TANJORE. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, Nos. 9–12.

1. *Obverse*.—In Tamil [MA]D[I]RAI=Madura.
Reverse.—In Grantha TANCHAI=Tanjavur=Tanjore.
2. *Obverse*.—A plant.
Reverse.—As No. 1.
3. *Obverse*.—A star or flower.
Reverse.—As No. 1.
4. *Obverse*.—The sun within a crescent.
Reverse.—As No. 1.

THE SETUPATIS OF RAMNAD.

Their dominions were bounded on the north by Tanjore and Shevaganga, and on the south and east by the sea. The inhabitants are Maravas and believed to be the oldest caste in the country. Their first chief, or Setupati, "Lord of the Bridge," is said to have been appointed by Rama for the purpose of guarding the bridge of rocks crossing the Gulf of Manar to Ceylon. "The Setupatis were long subject to the Pandians, but at last became their masters, and remained so for eleven generations, and during three reigns ruled over all the extreme south of India." At last they were driven to the south of the Kaveri by a Karamba prince, and the Rajah of Vijayanagara took from them Tanjore and Madura. Muttu Krishnappa of Madura re-established

their dynasty about 1605, which lasted till 1733. From 1733 to 1772 this country was in constant warfare with the Mahrattas, Maisureans, and the Nawabs of the Karnatik. At the instigation of one of the latter, the British captured Ramnad in 1772. In 1790 the Ramnad territories paid tribute to the East India Company, when British officials were appointed.

Gold fanams. *J.A.S.B.*, 1886, p. 158. Nos. 20, 21.

1. *Obverse*.—Figure standing before a lamp.

Reverse.—A goddess (Lakshmi?) seated on the lotus seat.

2. *Obverse*.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—A warrior holding a club.

Copper. Elliot, No. 172.

Obverse.—Standing figure.

Reverse.—Bull couchant to left, crescent above, SETU in Tamil below.

THE VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY.

This kingdom was one of the most important that ever existed in Southern India and was the last great Hindu power. It rose into prominence between A.D. 1336 and 1350. Before this time an adventurer from the south, named Sangama, possessed himself of Seringapatam and gradually obtained possession of the Hoysala dominions. His third son, Bukka, first assumed regal titles. He was assisted by his learned minister Madhava, also called Vidyaranya, and fixed his capital at Anegundi, which was afterwards called Vijayanagara =the city of victory, and sometimes Vidanagara =the city of learning, in honour of his minister. For some time its dominions were confined to the neighbourhood of the capital, but when at the zenith of its power it ruled the greater part of Karnata, Telingana, and the Kanara coast. In 1565 the Vijayanagara army, under Rama Raja, the usurper, was defeated at Talikota by a combination of the four Muhammadan principalities of the Dakhan, and the power of Vijayanagara was shattered. It was from a descendant of Rama Raja that the East India Company received the deed in 1640, handing over the site of Madras.

The Cognizance of the Kings of Vijayanagara.

The "varaha," or boar "avatar," with a sword, is said to have been introduced by Madhava. The bull, elephant, garuda, and Ghunda Bhairunda appear on the coins at various times. Krishna Raya, the greatest prince, is described on a copper plate as "a very Ghunda Bhairunda to the herds of elephants that are his foes." The fabulous double-headed eagle, or Ghunda Bhairunda, is represented as holding an elephant in each beak and claw. In Indian legend the garuda, the winged vehicle of Vishnu, is the king of birds and has but one head. It is the emblem of strength and speed.

Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara.

Harihara I., A.D. 1336-50—

1. Gold half pagoda.—Weight 25·3 grs. Elliot, Nos. 96, 97; Hultzs, No. 2; *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 25.

Obverse.—God and goddess seated.

Reverse.—SRI-PRA | TAPA-HARI | HARA in Nagari.

On some specimens the attributes of the two sitting figures are distinctly Vaishnava; on others it is doubtful if they are meant for Saiva or Vaishnava attributes.¹

2. Copper. Hultzs, No. 3; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 302.

Obverse.—Bull facing right: above, the moon.

Reverse.—PRATAPA | HARIHARA in Nagari.

3. Copper. Hultzs, No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892.

Obverse.—Bull facing right; in front a sword; above, a four-pointed star.

Reverse.—PRATAPA-HA | RAHARA in Nagari.

Bukkaraya I., A.D. 1350-79, brother of Harihara I.—

- Gold pagoda.—Weight 52 grs. *J.A.S.B.*, 1883, p. 42, No. 9; Hultzs, No. 1.

Obverse.—A rude figure of Garuda facing right.

Reverse.—SRI-VI | [RA]-BUKA | [R]AYA in Kanarese.

¹ Dr. Hultzs, "The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara," published in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx.

Harihara II., A.D. 1379-1401, son and successor of Bukka I.—

1. Gold pagoda.—Weight 51·5 grs. From the Anantapur district. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 3.

Obverse.—A rude figure of Garuda kneeling towards the right.

Reverse.—SRI-VI | RA-HARI | HARA in Kanarese.

2. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 4. This coin may belong to Harihara I.

Obverse.—Hanuman advancing to the right.

Reverse.—HARI | HARA in Nagari.

Devaraya, A.D. 1401-51—

1. Gold pagoda.—Weight 52 grs. Hultzs, No. 4; *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 26.

Obverse.—God and goddess seated.

Reverse.—SRI-PRA | TAPA-DEVA | RAYA in Nagari.

2. Gold pagoda.—Weight 52·5 grs. Bidie, No. 11; Hultzs, No. 5.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—SRI-PRA | TAPA-DOVA | RAYA in Nagari. (Sometimes DAVA.)

The obverse on this coin, according to Dr. Bidie, is “Siva and Parvati seated, and with the sun and moon overhead. In some there is just a trace of the deer to the right of Parvati; in some Siva holds in his right hand the ‘Damaru’ or drum; and in some it grasps the club or Khatwanga. In one the right hand holds something suspiciously like the Chank, but it is probably intended to represent his bow.”¹ The forms of this coin differ slightly as they have evidently been struck from different dies. “The type of the obverse of this pagoda appears to have been a favourite device, as not only was it adopted by subsequent sovereigns of the dynasty, but also by the Nayaks of Bednur, who were vassals of Vijayanagara, as well as by Hyder, and Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.”²

3. Gold half pagoda. Hultzs, No. 6. As No. 2.

4. Gold quarter pagoda. Hultzs, No. 7.

Obverse.—Elephant facing left; above, the sun and moon.

Reverse.—SRI-DEVA | RAYA in Nagari.

¹ Dr. Bidie's “Pagoda or Varaha Coins of Southern India,” *Jr. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. li, Part 1, 1883, p. 44.

² Bidie, p. 43.

5. Gold quarter pagoda. Hultzs, No. 8.
Obverse.—As No. 4.
Reverse.—SRI-DE | VA-RAYA in Nagari.
6. Silver. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 5.
Obverse.—An elephant facing the right.
Reverse.—A sword, and to the right of it, the Nagari legend DEVA | RAYA.

“ This specimen is the only silver coin of the Vijayanagara kings that has hitherto come to light.”¹ Abdur Razzaq, an ambassador, who visited the capital of Vijayanagara during the reign of Devaraya, mentions a silver coin in circulation there at the time of his visit, A.D. 1443, called “ tar,” which was equal to one-sixth of a fanam. Besides this silver coin, he also mentions the gold coins : (1) “ varaha ” ; (2) the “ partab ” or half varaha—“ The name ‘ partab,’ which Abdur Razzaq attributes to the half pagoda, is probably connected with the surname Pratapa, which occurs before the names of Vijayanagara kings both on coins and inscriptions ; (3) fanam, or one-tenth of a partab, but no fanam bearing Devaraya’s name has yet been discovered.”²

7. Copper. Hultzs, No. 9.
Obverse.—Elephant facing right ; above, the Kanarese letter A.
Reverse.—PRATA | PA-DEVA | RAYA in Kanarese.
8. Copper. Hultzs, No. 10.
Obverse.—As No. 7, but conch to left and discus to right of the letter A.
Reverse.—As No. 7.
9. Copper. Hultzs, No. 11.
Obverse.—Elephant facing right.
Reverse.—SRI-DEVA | RAYA in Kanarese ; upright sceptre, with a discus on its left and a conch on its right, between the two lines of the legend.
10. Copper. Hultzs, No. 12.
Obverse.—Elephant facing right ; above, the sun and moon, and the Kanarese syllable DE (probably for Devaraya).
Reverse.—“ RAYA | GAJA GAMDA | BHERUNDA ” in Nagari = “ The double-headed eagle which splits the temples of kings.”

¹ Dr. Hultzs, *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, p. 318.

² Dr. Hultzs, “ The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara,” *Ind. Ant.*

11. Copper. Hultzs, No. 13.
Obverse.—Elephant facing right; above, a conch and the inverted Nagari syllable DE.
Reverse.—RAYA | GAGA GAMDA | BHERUNDA in Nagari ; below the legend is a sceptre turned to the right.
 12. Copper. Hultzs, No. 14.
Obverse.—Elephant facing right; above, the sun and moon, and Nagari syllable DE.
Reverse.—RAYAGA | JAGAMDABHE | RUMDA in Nagari ; above the legend is a similar sceptre.
 13. Copper. Hultzs, No. 15.
Obverse.—Elephant facing right.
Reverse.—As No. 12.
 14. Copper. Elliot, No. 94.
Obverse.—Elephant facing right (rarely left) with Kanarese syllable NI above.
Reverse.—MANA (?)DANAYA | KARU in Kanarese.
- “ This coin is connected by type with Nos. 7 to 13. ‘ Danayakaru ’ is honorific Kanarese plural of danayaka, probably a corruption of ‘ dandanayaka,’ the title of the Hoysala chiefs of Tonnur, near Seringapatam.”
15. Copper. Hultzs, No. 16.
Obverse.—Bull facing the left; above, the sun and moon.
Reverse.—SRI DEVA | RAYA in Nagari; above the legend is a sceptre with top turned to the right.
 16. Copper. Hultzs, No. 17. *Prinsep's Essays*, vol. i, Plate xxxv, No. 21.
Obverse.—As No. 15.
Reverse.—As No. 9.
 17. Copper. Hultzs, No. 18.
Obverse.—As No. 16.
Reverse.—As No. 9, but conch on the left and discus on right of sceptre.
 18. Copper. Hultzs, No. 19.
Obverse.—Bull facing right; moon above and conch in front.
Reverse.—PRATAPA DE | VARAYA in Nagari; above the legend a sceptre turned to the right.

19. Copper. Hultzs, No. 20.
Obverse.—As No. 18.
Reverse.—SRI DEVA | RAYA in Nagari; above the legend a similar sceptre.
20. Copper. Hultzs, No. 21; *Prinsep's Essays*, vol. i, Plate xxxv, No. 20.
Obverse.—Bull facing the right; sun and moon above.
Reverse.—As No. 9.
21. Copper. Hultzs, No. 22.
Obverse.—As No. 20.
Reverse.—As No. 9, but conch on the left and discus on the right of the sceptre.
22. Copper. Hultzs, No. 23.
Obverse.—Bull facing right with sun and moon above; in front of bull Nagari syllable DE.
Reverse.—SRI | NILAKAM | THA in Nagari = Nilakanta "the blue necked," a name of Siva.

Mallikarjunaraya, A.D. 1451-56. Son and successor of Devaraya—

1. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 2.
Obverse.—Elephant facing left; above it the Kanarese syllable NI.
Reverse.—MALI | KAJUNARA | YARU in Kanarese.
2. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 3.
Obverse.—As No. 1, but elephant facing right.
Reverse.—As No. 1.

Vira Bhupati, A.D. 1465-79. The son of Bukka II. and a grandson of Harihara II.—

- Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Dec., 1896, No. 6. See No. 2 of Harihara II., which has the same obverse.
Obverse.—Hanuman advancing right.
Reverse.—SRI VIRA | BHUPATI | RAYA in Nagari.

2nd Dynasty, Krishnaraya, A.D. 1508-42—

1. Gold, double pagoda.—Weight 119.7 grs. Hultzs, No. 24; Elliot, No. 112.
Obverse.—Vishnu standing under an arch.
Reverse.—SRI | KRISHNARA | YA in Nagari.

"The omission of the surname Pratapa, which appears on the two smaller gold coins (Nos. 3 and 4 of this king), makes the attribution of this coin doubtful."¹ The same obverse occurs on the coins of the 3rd dynasty.

2. Gold pagoda. Hultzsch, No. 25.

Obverse.—Siva and Parvati seated.

Reverse.—SRI PRA | TAPA-KRISHNA | RAYA in Nagari.

"This unique coin is doubtful and may have been an earlier issue of the pagoda of Krishnaraya of Maisur."¹

3. Gold pagoda. Hultzsch, No. 26; Bidie, No. 12a and 12b; Elliot, Nos. 186-8; Marsden, Nos. 1070-1.

Obverse.—Vishnu seated with the discus and conch.

Reverse.—As No. 2.

"This coin has long been popularly known as the 'Durgi pagoda,' the figure on the obverse being regarded as Durga the bull-headed consort of Siva. From the examination of a number of specimens, however, it is apparent that the symbols that accompany the figure on the obverse are not Sivaite, but the 'chank' or 'chakra' of Vishnu, and that the figure itself represents the 'Varaha' or 'Boar' incarnation. In fact it is from the figure of the boar on this and the Chalukyan coins already described, that the pagoda got the Tamil name of Varaha. The inscription on the reverse shows that this form was first struck by a Vijayanagara king, but there is strong reason for believing that it was subsequently reproduced by tributaries of that house, and notably by the Chitaldroog Nayak about the end of the seventeenth century. It is also probable that the term Durgi, as applied to this pagoda, had originally no reference to the figure on the obverse, but was simply a popular modification of the word 'Durga,' a 'hill-fort,' and the diminutive title of Chitaldroog, the place at which the more modern specimens were struck. . . . It will be observed that he (*i.e.*, Krishnaraya) or some predecessor changed the state religion, the figures of Siva and Parvati on the coinage having given place to that of Vishnu."²

¹ Dr. Hultzsch. ² Dr. Bidie, *Pagoda or Varaha Coins*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1883, p. 44.

4. Gold half-pagoda.—Weight 26 grs. Hultzs, No. 27; Moor, 18–21; Elliot, No. 175.

Obverse and reverse as No. 3.

“On some specimens of Nos. 3 and 4 the sitting figure looks like a female and might be intended for Lakshmi.”¹

5. Gold quarter-pagoda. Marsden, p. 737.

Obverse and reverse as No. 3.

6. Copper. Hultzs, No. 28.

Obverse.—Kneeling figure of Garuda facing left.

Reverse.—As No. 3.

Achyutaraya, A.D. 1508–42—

1. Gold pagoda. Hultzs, No. 29.

Obverse.—A double-headed eagle (Ganda bherunda) holding elephants in its beaks and claws.

Reverse.—SRI-PRA | TAPACHYUTA | RAYA in Nagari.

2. Gold half-pagoda.—Weight 26·4 grs. Hultzs, No. 30; Bidie, 10a; Elliot, No. 99; *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 29.

Obverse and reverse.—As No. 1.

3. Gold half-pagoda.—Weight 24·2 grs. Hultzs, No. 31; Elliot, 98.

Obverse.—A Ganda bherunda walking to left.

Reverse.—As No. 1.

Sadisivaraya, A.D. 1542–74 (virtually controlled by his minister Rama Raja)—

1. Gold pagoda.—Weight 52·6 grs. Hultzs, No. 32; Elliot, No. 100.

Obverse.—Vishnu and Lakshmi seated.

Reverse.—SRI-PRATA | PA-SADASI | VARYA in Nagari.

2. Gold pagoda.—Weight 52·9 grs. Hultzs, No. 32 [a]; Bidie, No. 13; Elliot, No. 114.

Obverse.—Siva with the trisul in his right hand and the antelope in his left; Parvati on Siva's left.

Reverse.—SRI | SADASI | VA.

“The obverse of this coin is the exact prototype of the ‘Ikkeri’ and ‘Bahaduri’ pagodas, and at one time I had doubts as to whether the Sadasiva, whose name is on the reverse, was not the Nayak of that name who founded the Ikkeri-house in the Shimoga district of Mysore,

¹ Dr. Hultzs.

and established a mint there which was afterwards captured and worked by Hyder.”¹

3. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 4. As Elliot's gold pagoda No. 100.
Obverse.—God and goddess seated.
Reverse.—[SRI-SADA]SIVARA | YARU in Nagari.
4. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 5.
Obverse.—A kneeling figure of Garuda facing left.
Reverse.—As No. 3.

The obverse corresponds to No. 6 of Krishnaraya.

3rd Dynasty or Usurping Line. Rama Raja, died A.D. 1565—

1. Gold pagoda.—Weight 52·6 grs. “The Gandikota pagoda.”
Obverse.—Vishnu standing under a canopy; four-armed and holding the usual symbols.
Reverse.—SRI RAM | RAJA RAM | RAM RAJA in corrupt Nagari.
2. Gold half-pagoda.—Weight 26 grs. *C.I.M.*, vol. i, Plate xxx, 31; Bidie, No. 16.
Obverse and reverse.—As No. 1. This coin has been often forged.

Tirumalaraya, A.D. 1565–71. The brother of Rama Raja—

1. Gold pagoda. Hultzsche, No. 33; Elliot, No. 182.
Obverse.—Lakshmana standing, Rama and Sita seated.
Reverse.—SRI-TI | RVMALARA | YULU in Nagari. “‘Rayulu’ is the Telugu honorific plural of ‘raya.’”²
2. Gold half-pagoda.—Weight 25·8 grs. Hultzsche, No. 34; Bidie, No. 14.
Obverse and reverse.—As No. 1.
3. Copper. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1892, No. 6; *Madras Jr.*, New Series, vol. iv, Plate I, No. 11.
Obverse.—A boar facing right; above, a sword and the sun.
Reverse.—[SRI-TI] RUMALA | RAYA in Kanarese.

¹ Dr. Bidie, p. 45.

² Dr. Hultzsche, *Ind. Ant.*, xx (1891).

Venkata, A.D. 1587—

1. Gold pagoda.—Weight 51·2 grs. The “Venkatapati pagoda.” Hultzsch, No. 35 ; Bidie, No. 15 ; Elliot, No. 105.

Obverse.—Vishnu standing under an arch ; four-armed and holding the usual symbols.

Reverse.—SRI-VEMKA | TESVARA | YA NAMAH in Nagari = “Adoration to the blessed Venkatesvara.”

“Venkatesvara is the deity of Venkatadri or Tirumalai, the sacred hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district. As Chandragiri, the last capital of the 3rd Vijayanagara dynasty, is situated near Tirupati, it is very probable that the coin belongs to one of these princes, or even specially to one of the Venkatas among them, who might have selected the legend, because it reminded him of his own name.”¹

“It seems likely, therefore, that the ‘Venkatapati pagoda’ was first coined at Chandragiri by the ex-*raja* of Vijayanagara, and latterly at Raidrug. One of the last Polygars of that place was named Venkatapati, and as the family were descended of a former commander-in-chief of Vijayanagar and were long vassals of that house, they would naturally, on setting up a mint, copy the coinage of the dynasty with which they had been so intimately connected.”²

2. Gold half-pagoda. A later imitation of No. 1, the legend having degenerated into a scrawl. It used to be manufactured for use as jewellery in Bangalore.
3. Copper. Hultzsch, No. 36.
Obverse.—Vishnu standing under an arch.
Reverse.—[VE] MKA- | TAPA | RAYA in Nagari.
4. Copper. Hultzsch, No. 37 ; Elliot, No. 177.
Obverse.—Vishnu standing ; on his right a fish.
Reverse.—VEMKA | TAPA in Kanarese.

“Venkatappa was the name of the sixth Nayaka of Ikkeri. As, however, this coin is frequently met with in the Madura bazar, and as the fish is the emblem of the Pandya country, I believe that it belongs to one of the Madura Nayakas, who issued it in the name of his nominal sovereign Venkata, the pageant king of Vijayanagara.”¹ Some of these

¹ Dr. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, xx (1891).

² Bidie, p. 46.

pagodas are oval ; and on the obverse of some specimens Vishnu stands under an arch or canopy, in others the arch is wanting.

5. Copper. Hultzsch, No. 39 ; Elliot, No. 89½.

Obverse.—A kneeling figure of Garuda facing left.

Reverse.—VEMKATA in Kanarese.

MAISUR.

After the destruction of the Vijayanagara empire in A.D. 1565 the Muhammadans did not advance to the south, and the result was that the numerous Polygars and other petty chiefs, being relieved of the yoke of empire, at once began to fight amongst themselves for supremacy. These subordinate states commenced to coin money and flooded the country with an endless variety of gold and copper coins ; hence the numerous specimens found in Southern India. Their coins became “ more and more degraded, till all resemblance to the type from which they professed to be derived was lost.” Maisur was the only state of importance which established itself permanently after the collapse of the Vijayanagara empire. That district had been governed by a viceroy located at Seringapatam, who levied tribute from thirty-three Wodeyars or “ lords ” for the King of Vijayanagara. Raja Wodeyar, chief of Maisur, assumed possession of the whole province on the death of the Viceroy, and declared his independence in 1578.

The Rajas of Maisur appear to have inherited the cognizance of the elephant from the Kongus and Cheras. Coins bearing this device are found in great variety in the province. The elephant, which in Southern India has always been considered as an emblem of royalty, is still found in his wild state in the forests of Coorg and Maisur, and is looked upon as an “ animal of prudence and foresight, and a remover of difficulties.” Even Tipu the usurper continued the use of the elephant on his copper coins, although the emblem of his empire was the tiger. His standards bore on them a central sun, consisting of alternate stripes of green and gold in a circle, surrounded by gold rays and stripes, known as “ tiger stripes.”

The coins of Maisur have been described in vol. v of this *Journal*.¹

¹ “ Coin Collecting in Mysore,” by Major R. P. Jackson, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v, pp. 287–340.

COINAGE OF THE POLYGARS AND OTHER MINOR CHIEFS.

1. *Balapur*, in Maisur, was in the jaghir of Sira in A.D. 1728; captured by Haidar of Maisur in 1761, by the Mahrattas in 1770, and retaken by Haidar in 1773.

Gold fanams struck by Abbas Kuli Khan (1728-61), Haidar (1761-70)?, in the name of Muhammad Shah of Delhi (1718-48), and of Alamgir II. (1753-61). Copper coins in the name of Muhammad Shah of Delhi.

Little Balapur, in Maisur, became nominally subject to Maisur about 1704; in possession of the former Polygar of Deonhully 1749-62; captured by Haidar in 1761 and by Lord Cornwallis in 1791, who restored it to the Polygar; afterwards captured by the Maisur troops.

Gold fanam with  (Muhammad) on obverse? and  (Bala) on reverse. See the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Series IV, vol. 10, 1910, for the coinage of both places.

2. *Chandragiri and Raidrug*. The ex-raja of Vijayanagara resided at Chandragiri after the destruction of his empire in 1565. The Polygar of Raidrug was descended from a former commander-in-chief of Vijayanagara.

The Venkatapati pagoda, described under "Vijayanagara," was struck at both these places.

3. *Chituldrug*, in Maisur.—About twelve Nayakas ruled here from 1508-1779. Madakeri I. first assumed independence and died in 1602. It became tributary to the Nawabs of Sira in 1721; was captured by Haidar in 1779, when the inhabitants were carried off to Seringapatam.

1. Durgi pagoda and half-pagoda, said to have been struck by Kumara Barmappa Nayaka (1689-1721) in 1691; described under "Vijayanagara."
2. Molay Durgi pagoda and half-pagoda, said to have been struck by Madakeri V. (1754-79). As No. 1, but of very rude workmanship with merely the punch-mark on the reverse.
3. Gullukuntay pagoda and half-pagoda, said to have been forged by a goldsmith in Gullukuntay, near Chituldrug, in the reign of Madakeri IV. (1721-48) in 1727.¹

¹ Hawkes, *Coins of Mysore*, 1852.

4. Copper Durgi cash, Hawkes, No. 7.

Obverse.—Durga.

Reverse.—Crossed lines.

4. *Colar*, in Maisur, formed part of the province of Sira in 1664; it was presented to the father of Haidar of Maisur in 1721; captured by the British in 1768, and by the Mahrattas in 1770.

Gold fanam in the name of Muhammad Shah of Delhi.

Obverse.—محمد شاه Muhammad Shah.

Reverse.—ضرب قولار "struck at Colar."

5. *Cunghul and Madgiri* formed part of the dominions of the celebrated Kempe Gondas, who settled in Yellahunka in 1550 and afterwards held Bangalore. Madgiri was captured by the Maisur general in 1728, when both territories were annexed by the Maisur rajahs.

Gold fanam struck by Mummadi Kempe Ganda, the last chief, at Cunghul.

6. *Cudikonda* in Bellary district. The Polygars struck gold fanams as follows :—

1. The Subramanya (the son of Siva to whom the serpent was sacred) or snake. *J.A.S.B.*, 1886.

Obverse.—SRI in Nagari.

Reverse.—A crawling cobra in six varieties.

2. The Pudigi subramanya.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—Hood of cobra distended.

3. The Muruyada.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—A three-headed cobra.

4. *Obverse*.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—A five-headed cobra (rare).

7. *Culiandrug*, in Maisur; the Polygar is said by Hawkes to have struck a gold fanam.

Obverse.—The Sivaite bull.

Reverse.—SHAHOO in Nagari (Polygar's name?).

8. *Deonhully* between Bangalore and Nundidrug in Maisur. Hawkes mentions a gold fanam of this polygarship.

9. *Gandikata*, a hill fortress in the Kadapah district; held by the Polygars as vassals of Vijayanagara, till captured by Muhammad Kuli of Gulkanda early in the seventeenth century; captured by the British in 1791.

The pagoda and half-pagoda of Timmia Naidoo, the Polygar, are probably later copies of those described under Rama Raja of Vijayanagara. The inscriptions on these coins, which were in circulation in the ceded districts as late as 1839, are in debased Nagari. They were probably struck late in the sixteenth century.

10. *Gooty*, in Bellary district ; held by the Shahnair family until dispossessed in 1758 by the Mahratta chief Murari Rao ; captured by Haidar of Maisur in 1791.

1. Gold fanam struck in the name of Muhammad Shah of Delhi.
2. Fanam of Murari Rao.

11. *Gurramkunda*.—According to Hawkes gold pagodas and fanams of these types :—

1. Man on horseback.
2. Figure of Venketrowna ?

No. 2 was probably a corrupted form of the Durgi pagoda with debased Nagari reverses.

12. *Ikkeri and Bednur*.—The Nayakas of these places reigned from 1559 to 1640 at Ikkeri, and from 1640 to 1763 at Bednur. The latter was captured by Haidar in 1763, when he obtained booty to the amount of twelve millions sterling. He changed the name to Haidarnagar, abbreviated into Nagar. It became the second city of his empire. He first struck coins here in his own name, adopting the obverse of the Ikkeri pagoda, but substituting his own initial on the reverse for the Nagari inscription. Gold coins of the Nayakas consist of—

1. The Ikkeri pagoda of Sadasiva Nayaka (1559-75), described under Sadisivaraya of Vijayanagara as there is some doubt as to which of these two princes struck this coin.
2. Hawkes notes a "Srivari" pagoda and fanam with Siva and Parvati on the obverse.

13. *Nundidrug*, a hill fortress in Maisur.—The Nundi fanam (Hawkes and *J.R.A.S.*, 1886).

14. *Ooscotta*, once a division of the province of Sira.
Gold fanam in the name of Muhammad Shah of Delhi.

ANANTAN KASU OF TRAVANCORE.



COPPER COINS OF TRAVANCORE.



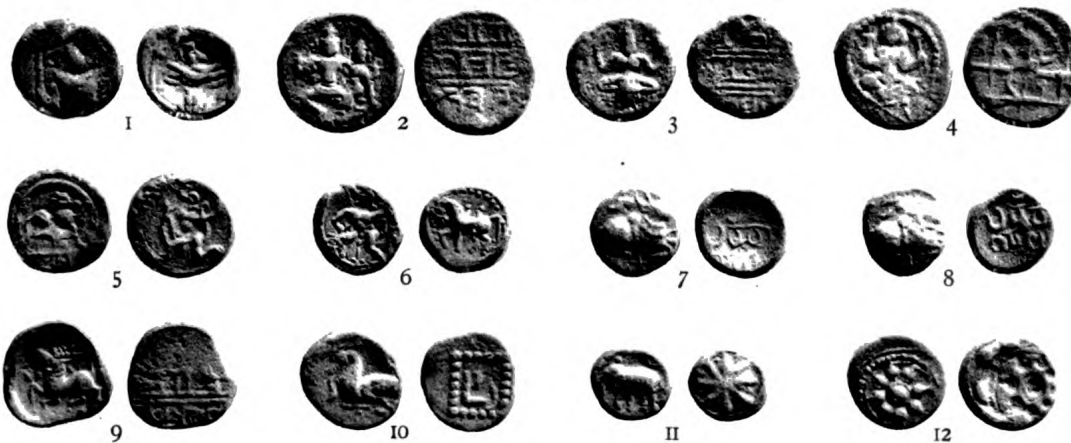
INDO-DUTCH CHALLIS CURRENT IN COCHIN AND ON THE WESTERN COAST.



SOUTHERN INDIA COPPER COINS IN THE NAME OF ALAMGIR OF DEHLI.



COPPER COINS FOUND IN MAISUR.



PHOTOPHANE CO. S. E.

15. *Sira*, 33 miles N.N.W. of Tumkur in Maisur, which is now a small place, but in 1664 it was the capital of a province, and even Maisur was tributary to it so late as 1724, was captured by Balajee Rao in 1757 and by Haidar in 1761. It surrendered subsequently to the Mahrattas and was held by them until 1773, when Tipu conquered it.

The Shirida or Sirphee fanam (Hawkes).

Obverse.—Vishnu.

Reverse.—Illegible characters.

16. *Puducottah*, between Tanjore and Madura, is governed by a chief called Tondiman, whose ancestor received his territory for services during the Karnatik wars of the eighteenth century. The following copper coins, first issued by the Tondiman, 1729–67, have been coined locally ever since. They are circulated during the Dusserah festival, when four of them are distributed, together with a dole of rice, to every poor person on each day of that festival. Their value is $\frac{1}{20}$ th of an anna, and their weight 20 grains :—

1. *Obverse*.—The figure of Brahadamba, namely, the family deity of the Tondiman.

Reverse.— विजय = Vijaya = Victory. Tufnell's *Hints*, No. 23 and p. 20, Plate I.

2. As No. 1, but a more modern and improved specimen, Plate I.

It seems that the sitting posture was adopted on this coin to distinguish it from a similar coin in circulation in Madura, which had a standing posture. Tufnell, No. 24.

17. Copper coins struck in the Maisur province in the name of Alamgir II. of Delhi (1754–59).

The following five specimens are illustrated on PLATE II, Figs. 1–5 :—¹

1. *Obverse*.—Elephant caparisoned standing to left.

Reverse.— عالمگیر سنہ "Alamgir year——."—Weight 40 grs.

2. *Obverse*.—As No. 1.

Reverse.— عالمگیر ضرب سنہ [عالم] "Alamgir struck year——."—Weight 40 grs.

3. A variant of No. 2.—Weight 40 grs.

¹ In the plate the name "Dehli" is an error for Delhi.

4. *Obverse*.—As No. 1, but elephant to right.
Reverse.—As No. 1.—Weight 25 grs.
5. *Obverse*.—عالم گیر "Alamgir."
Reverse.—بادشاه "Emperor."—Weight 20 grs.

Muhammadan interests began to come to the front in Maisur in the reign of Chikka Raja, 1734-66.

PLATE II, Figs. 1 to 12, are copper coins found in Maisur, some of which are the issues of the Polygars in that province after the downfall of the Vijayanagara empire.

THE MALDIVE ISLANDS.

These islands form a chain of coral atolls in the Indian Ocean extending 550 miles in length, and are inhabited by Muhammadans. The number of the islands is popularly estimated at 12,000, as appears by the ancient style of the sultan as "King of 12,000 islands and atolls." The sultan on his coinage, however, calls himself "Lord of land and sea." To prevent the frequent raids of the Moplah pirates of Malabar, the sultan placed himself under the protection of the government of Ceylon in 1645. The sultan was carried off by a force of 'Ali Raja of Kannanur in 1753, and as he never returned, the minister who had ruled in his absence became sultan in 1760.

The currency of these islands originally consisted of the larin or "fish-hook" money, made of bent silver wire¹; but this currency has been long replaced by coins of base metal bearing the same name. The Indian rupee is now current for larger payments, and cowries are still used to some extent. The following copper coins, illustrated on PLATE I, Figs. 1-2, weight 20 grains, were issued by Sultan Muhammad Muhayyiu-d-din (1835-82), and were obtained in Kannanur, between which place and the islands there is frequent intercourse:—

1. *Obverse*.—سلطان محمد مہو الدین "Sultan Muhammad Muhayyiu-d-din."
Reverse.—سلطان التبر والبحر سنہ ۱۲۸۵ "The lord of land and sea A.H. 1285" (A.D. 1868).
2. As No. 1, but date A.H. 1296 (A.D. 1878) and variations in the position of the Arabic legend.

¹ Larins were manufactured there in 1602.

THE RAMTINKIS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

Literature : J. Gibbs, *Jr. As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 76, 1883 ; *Jr. As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 207, 1884.

Sir W. Elliot, *Num. Orient.*, "Coins of Southern India, p. 99.

Gold medals known as Ramtinkis (or Rama-tankas) are occasionally found in Southern India, and occur in three varieties, viz. (1) the whole, or "Ramtinki Varaha," measuring about 2 inches in diameter and weighing 4 tolas or 720 grains ; (2) the half, or "Ramtinki Pratapa," measuring about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and weighing 2 tolas or 360 grains ; and (3) the quarter, or "Ramtinki Dharana," measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter and weighing 180 grains. The obverse of these medals is concave, due to the force of blows upon the gold plate held over the cup-shaped dies.

"The story on them all, illustrated to a greater or less degree, is that of Rama and Sita, on their reconciliation on her proving her innocence after being seized and carried to Lanka by Ravana, and is taken from the Ramayana. The rows of figures are composed of men and monkeys, the latter forming part of the army of Hanuman, by whose means Sita was rescued. In all the large specimens, Hanuman is represented standing or kneeling in the centre of the row below Rama and Sita, and holding up a flower to them ; in the smaller, he alone sits just below Rama and his consort. Sita in some is represented on Rama's lap, in the umbrella. The monkey in the same row with Rama and Sita is Sugriva, the king of that tribe to whom Hanuman was adviser. In some the figure of a bear appears, which is intended to represent Jambavat, the king of the bears, who with his army also aided Rama in his attack on Lanka."¹

¹ *Jr. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1884, p. 211.

As these cup-shaped medals bear neither date nor legible inscription the date of issue is unknown, but the natives assert that they are about 800 years old. Elliot assigns them to the reign of Tirumala of Vijayanagara, A.D. 1565-71, and thinks that their form may have been taken from the concave padma-tankas. Those medals of the paler gold are said to be of a more ancient date than the others.

There is no evidence to show that they were ever used as coins despite the correct proportion of their weights.

They were apparently struck for votive offerings or for purely religious purposes. They are highly venerated in Southern India, especially by Vaishnava Brahmans, but most families of respectability there have one or more, which are objects of household worship at the present day. The majority of Siva temples in Southern India have several Ramtinkis in their treasure house, which are made use of in the daily worship. It is customary among the followers of Siva when worshipping the idols in the temples "to bathe them daily in milk, curds, ghi (*i.e.*, clarified butter), sugar, honey, fruits, and then in water, after which they were bathed in gold, which is done by pouring over them handfuls of gold coins such as Ramtinkis, Huns, and other Hindu coins; these coins are kept specially for this use and are deemed to be sacred, and although as a favour they may be shown to Europeans, none can touch them but the priests."¹ The battered appearance of some of these Ramtinkis is the result of their having been poured over the heads of the idols for a large number of years. It requires a good deal of tact and patience on the part of the collector to persuade a Hindu to sell a Ramtinki. I was able to procure two quarter-Ramtinkis in the Mysore Province in 1892 at a cost of thirty rupees each. It is necessary, however, to exercise caution as the native goldsmiths have been known to make excellent imitations in Bangalore and Mysore, but it is quite probable that some of the modern imitations were struck at or for some of the famous places of pilgrimage in Southern India. As a rule, however, the modern imitations are of very inferior workmanship with no pretensions to age, but being of good

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 211.

metal, would be readily accepted by the priests for the purposes mentioned above.

In connection with the daily gold-coin-bath of the Hindu idols, I venture to quote an extract from a letter relating how a brass casting of the old East India Company, which once probably ornamented some regimental big drum of former days, was the object of daily worship in the temple amongst the Hindu idols :—" I am sending you the armorial bearings of the old East India Company which I found in a temple dedicated to Bharata, where, along with several Hindu idols, it was worshipped, the men told me, for ever so many years as a Hindu deity. *It used to be bathed and anointed* with sandal wood every day with the rest of the Murats with all the customary formulæ of the daily Hindu ritual. The old Mahunt was quite pleased with his possession and refused at first to allow me to touch it, but I was able to convince him that the so-called deity was the escutcheon of the 'Sirkar Company.' He then gave it to me. It is an interesting relic of the exotic phase of Hindu worship. I think, therefore it is worthy of translation from the niche of Bharata's temple to a Museum."¹

THE MUHAMMADAN COINAGE OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

The first attempt to extend the influence of the Empire of Delhi over Southern India was made in the reign of Jalalu-d-din Firoz II., A.D. 1290-95, when the command of the venture was entrusted to the Sultan's nephew 'Alau-d-din, who afterwards ascended the throne with the title of Muhammad Shah, A.D. 1295-1315. In A.D. 1293-4 he took the city of Deogir, afterwards called Daulatabad, where he obtained immense plunder. After his accession to the throne he placed Malik Naib Kafur, a Hindu renegade, in command of the Dakhan army, who penetrated to the extreme south of the peninsula, stripping every Hindu temple of its accumulation of gold and jewels. This general overthrew the kingdoms of Carnata and Telingana, and in A.D. 1311 carried away an enormous amount of plunder from

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1883, p. 79.

Madura; the gold alone is said to have amounted to 96,000 "maunds" (nearly three millions sterling), and this was the loot of only one of his four expeditions. Malik Naib Kafur's name is remembered in Madura to this day in association with irresistible fate and every form of sacrilege. During the reign of Ghiyasu-d-din Tughlaq, A.D. 1320-24, Dakhan affairs were managed by his son Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq, who afterwards became Sultan of Delhi, A.D. 1324-51. The partiality of the last-mentioned sultan for the Dakhan was shown by his transfer of the seat of his government from Delhi to Deogir in 1338, and by his compelling the people of Delhi to proceed to that place, a distance of 700 miles. The brutal violence with which this order was carried out has been related by a native historian. When permitted to return, the majority of the people perished on the route. The tyrant made a second attempt to establish his capital in Deogir, but was finally baffled.

The imperial sway over the south of India was, however, of brief duration. In 1334 Jalalu-d-din Ahsan Shah, the sultan's governor of Ma'bar, declared his independence, and established a line of Mussulman rulers at Madura, the capital of the Pandya kingdom, which lasted until 1377, when it was overthrown by the rising Hindu state of Vijayanagara.

The sultan's tyrannical actions also resulted in Ismail becoming king of the Dakhan, in 1347, with the title of Nasiru-d-din. The Delhi army was defeated by Zuffur Khan, and the royal troops were expelled from the Dakhan. On the resignation of Nasiru-d-din Ismail, Zuffur Khan became king under the title of 'Alau-d-din Hasan Shah Gangu Bahman, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, which lasted to nearly 1525. On the withdrawal of the power of Delhi from the south of the Narbada, some of the Hindu kingdoms reverted to their former masters. On the dissolution of the Bahmani empire its dominions were distributed into the five Muhammadan states of Gulkanda, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, and Berar. In 1565 these states formed a league against the remaining Hindu prince of Vijayanagara and destroyed that monarchy. In 1630 the greater portion of the Dakhan had been absorbed by the kingdoms of Gulkanda, Ahmadnagar, and

Bijapur. All these states were reduced in the reign of Aurangzeb, and the Dakhan was again incorporated into the empire of Delhi. In the subsequent reigns, when the great empire of Aurangzeb fell into decay, the Nizam declared his independence, and the Mahrattas established a powerful monarchy. The remaining portions of Southern India were held by chieftains acknowledging the supremacy of one or other of these two powers. Maisur became the prize of the Muhammadan usurper Haidar Ali. During the contest for power which ensued about the middle of the eighteenth century between the native chiefs, the French and English took opposite sides. The British triumphed and Maisur formed one of our earliest conquests in the Dakhan.

The Muhammadan coins struck in Southern India consist of those issued by the following dynasties :—

I.—*Pathan Sultans of Delhi.*

a. 'Alau-d-din Muhammad Shah II., A.H. 695–715 = A.D. 1295–1315.

This sultan struck gold coins in A.H. 714 and 715, and silver coins in A.H. 714 at the “Fort of Deogir,” which are the earliest specimens of the Muhammadan coinage bearing the name of a mint town in Southern India. On these coins he calls himself “the second Alexander,” being probably elated with his successes in the Dakhan. His copper coins are still found in large numbers in the vicinity of Deogir (Daulatabad), and were probably struck there, but they do not bear the name of that mint.

b. Ghiyasu-d-din Tughlaq I., A.H. 720–725 = A.D. 1320–1325.

This sultan struck silver coins at the Fort of Deogir in A.H. 721, 722 and 726?

c. Muhammad III. ibn Tughlaq, A.H. 725–752 = A.D. 1324–1351.

This sultan struck gold coins in A.H. 726 at “Daulatabad town” in memory of his father, and in A.H. 727 and 728 at “the metropolis (lit. arch) of the tribes of Islam, the seat of the Presence, Deogir.” At his tanksal or mint, which was close

to the ancient reservoir of the city, situated about two miles south-west of Rozah, he struck the greater portion of his well-known forced currency in A.H. 730–732, consisting of tankahs, nisfes, lawful dirhams, and tankahs of fifty kanis composed of brass. The mint town of Daulatabad is described on these coins either as the “seat of royalty” or as “at the seat of the Presence.” Finding his fictitious currency a failure, he reverted to the old currency and redeemed the brass tokens in A.H. 732 (A.D. 1331). Specimens of his forced currency at the present time are often turned up by the plough in the vicinity of Daulatabad. In A.H. 744 he struck nisfes in billon at Daulatabad, which bore the name of Al Mustakfi b'illah, the third Abbasid Khalifa of Egypt, instead of his own, thinking perhaps that his sovereignty needed external confirmation.

It may be noted that all the Dakhan coins of the Pathan Sultans of Delhi were struck at the same place, viz., Deogir (or Daulatabad).

II.—*The Sultans of Madura, commonly called the Kings of Ma'bar.*

Although Madura had been captured in A.D. 1311 by the troops of 'Alau-d-din Muhammad Shah II. of Delhi, a special coinage for the Province of Ma'bar, which consisted not only of the Pandya country, but of the whole of the Coromandel coast, Nellore, Kulbarga, and the Malabar coast from Cape Comorin to Quilon, was not fabricated until the reign of Muhammad ibn Tughlaq. The coins of this sovereign are of southern manufacture and are not found in the bazars of Northern India.

a. Impure silver; copper; dates A.H. 730, 733 and 734.

Obverse.—الواثق بنصر الله ٧٣٠ “He who puts his trust in the help of God. 730.”

Reverse.—محمد بن تغلق شاه “Muhammad ibn Tughlaq Shah.”

b. Copper; mixed metal.

Obverse.—الامام اعادل “The just Imam.”

Reverse.—As a.

c. Copper.

Obverse—السلطان } "The just Sultan."
Reverse.—العدل }

1. Jalalu-d-din Ahsan Shah, A.H. 735-740 = A.D. 1334-1339, the governor of Ma'bar, who threw off his allegiance to the throne of Delhi. Silver, impure silver, and copper coins dated A.H. 737 and 738.
2. Alau-d-din Udaui Shah, A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339. Mixed metal, A.H. 740. Copper.
3. Qutbu-d-din Firoz Shah, A.H. 740. Copper, A.H. 740.
4. Ghiyathu-d-din Muhammad Damaghan Shah, A.H. 741 = A.D. 1340. Silver and billon, A.H. 741, copper; copper and brass.
5. Nasiru-d-din Mahmud Ghazi Damaghan Shah, A.H. 745 = A.D. 1344. Impure silver; copper, and mixed metal, A.H. 745.
6. 'Adil Shah, A.H. 757 = A.D. 1356. Mixed metal, A.H. 757, and copper.
7. Fakhru-d-din Mubarak Shah, A.H. 761-770. Copper, A.H. 761, 763, 765, 767, 768, 769, 770.
8. Alau-d-din Sikandar Shah, A.H. 774-779 = A.D. 1372-1377. Copper, A.H. 774, 779.

The Sultans of Madura were defeated by the troops of the Vijayanagara empire in A.D. 1371, but they continued to strike coins for some years afterwards.

See Professor Hultzsch's "Coinage of the Sultans of Madura," *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 667; Mr. Rodgers' "Coins of the Musalman Kings of Ma'bar," *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 49; Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*, pp. 30-33.

III.—*Bahmani Kings of the Dakhan.*¹

		A.H.	A.D.
	Nasiru-d-din Ismail	748	1347
1	Alau-d-din Hasan Shah Gangu Bahman	748	1347
2	Muhammad Shah Bahman Ghazi (Muhammad I.) ...	759?	1358
3	Mujahid Shah ibn Muhammad Shah	780	1378
4	Daud Shah (reigned 35 days)	780	1378
5	Muhammad Shah ibn Mahmud ibn Alau-d-din Hasan (Muhammad II.)	780	1378
6	Ghiyasu-d-din ibn Muhammad Shah (reigned 6 weeks)	799	1397
7	Shamsu-d-din	799	1397
8	Firoz Shah Bahmani	800	1397
9	Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani (Ahmad I.)	825	1422
10	Alau-d-din Ahmad Shah (Ahmad II.)	838	1435
11	Alau-d-din Humayun Shah	862	1457
12	Nizam Shah ibn Humayun Shah	865	1461
13	Shamsu-d-din Muhammad Shah ibn Humayun Shah (Muhammad III.)	867	1463
14	Mahmud Shah ibn Muhammud Shah	887	1482
15	Ahmad Shah ibn Mahmud Shah (Ahmad III.) ...	924	1518
16	Alau-d-din ibn Mahmud Shah	927	1520
17	Wali-ullah Shah ibn Mahmud Shah... ..	929	1522
18	Kalim-ullah Shah ibn Mahmud Shah	932	1525

The founder selected Kulbarga as his capital, which was renamed Ahsanabad. In A.D. 1435 the seat of government was transferred to Bidar (the Muhammadabad of the coins). The kingdom when first formed consisted of the upper basins of the Godaveri and Krishna Rivers, *i.e.*, the greater part of the Bombay Presidency south of Surat, and most of the Nizam's dominions. At one period of the Bahmani dynasty its dominion extended beyond the bounds given above.

¹ This dynasty received its name from the supposed Brahman descent of its founder.

Copper coins of all the kings mentioned in the list are still to be obtained in the Dakhan, with the exception of Nos. 15 and 16, whose coins have not yet been identified.

Copper coins of the following kings and dates have been noted :—
Nos. 8, A.H. 825; 9, A.H. 825-828, 830, 833, 834, 836-838; 10, A.H. 838-848, 850-856, 859, 860; 11, 863-866; 12, 866, 867; 13, A.H. 868-880, 882, 884, 886; 14, A.H. 887-890, 894, 902; 18, A.H. 935, 942.

Gold coins of the following kings and dates have been identified :—
Nos. 2, A.H. 775; 3, A.H. 777; 8, A.H. 800; 10, A.H. 855 and 860; 11, 13, A.H. 873, 877, and 878; 14, A.H. 898.

Silver coins of the following kings and dates have been identified :—
Nos. 1, A.H. 757 and 758; 2, A.H. 760, 761, 771, 774, 775, 776, and 777; 3, A.H. 778 and 779; 5, A.H. 791, 793-799; 7, A.H. 799; 8, A.H. 800, 803-807, 810-825; 9, A.H. 826 and 829; 10, A.H. 844, 847, 850, 857-859, and 861; 11, A.H. 863 and 864; 13, A.H. 877-880; 14, A.H. 887 and 899.

The great rarity of the gold and silver coins of the early kings is due to the Hindu bankers who, at the instance of the rajahs of Bijanagar and Telingana, melted down all the coins which fell into their hands in order that those of the Hindu princes might alone be current in the Dakhan.

See Mr. Gibbs' "Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881.

See Dr. Codrington's "Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1898, pp. 259-73.

See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v, 1895, pp. 280-2.

See R. Burns' "The Bahmani Kings," *J.A.S.B., Num. Supp.* No. 49 of 1907.

See Thanawala, "Some Rare Silver and Copper Coins of the Bahmani Kings," *J.A.S.B., Num. Supp.* No. 62 of 1909.

See *C.B.M.*, vol. ii, 1885, and *C.I.M.*, vol. ii, 1907, pp. 196-205.

IV.—The Amir Barid Dynasty of Bidar.

		A.H.	A.D.
1	Kasim Barid	898	1492
2	Amir Barid	910	1504
3	Ala Barid Shah (first assumed royalty)	956	1549
4	Ibrahim Barid Shah	970	1562
5	Kasim Barid Shah	977	1569
6	Mirza Ali Barid Shah	980	1572
7	Amir Barid Shah II.	1018	1609

The founder was a Turk, who had been sold as a slave to the Bahmani king Muhammad III., in whose service he distinguished himself by reducing the rebel Mahrattas of Paitan and Chakan. The last king was divested of almost all his territories during the war with Burhan Shah of Ahmadnagar.

V.—The 'Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur.

		A.H.	A.D.
1	Abdul Muzaffar Yusaf 'Adil Shah	895	1489
2	Ismail 'Adil Shah	916	1510
3	Mallu 'Adil Shah (seven months)	941	1534
4	Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I.... ..	941	1535
5	Ali 'Adil Shah (Ali I.)	965	1557
6	Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II.	988	1580
7	Muhammad 'Adil Shah	1037	1627
8	Ali 'Adil Shah (Ali II.)	1067	1656
9	Sultan Sikandar	1083	1672
	to	1097	1686

The founder was the son of an emperor of Rum (Asia Minor), who was sold as a slave when travelling in India to the minister of the Bahmani king Muhammad III. In A.D. 1467 he was appointed

Commander-in-Chief of the Bahmani Army, and declared his independence in A.D. 1489. He ruled over the country extending on the east from the confluence of the Bhima and the Krishna to the sea coast, and on the west from Goa to Bombay. This dynasty was extinguished in A.D. 1686, when Aurangzeb captured Bijapur and took the last prince prisoner.

It is thought that Yusaf 'Adil Shah, finding the Lingayat pagoda (No. 1, p. 312) in circulation in part of his territory, continued the issue, with the addition of the Persian letters *ain* [ع] or *sin* [س] impressed on the heart-shaped symbol, until he could establish an orthodox Moslem type of his own.

Copper coins have been identified of the last five princes by Dr. G. P. Taylor (*J.A.S.B., Num. Supp.* No. 108 of 1912), who reads their inscriptions as follows:—

Ali I.—Weight 52–186 grs. (round), 58 grs. (square).

1. *Obverse.*—علي ابن ابي طالب “Ali son of Abi (= Abu) Talib”
(Ali being the fourth khalifa).

Reverse.—اسد الله الغالب “The lion of God the overcoming.”
Plate III, Fig. 1.

Fig. 1a is the same as Fig. 1, but cut into the shape of a Haidarabad dub for circulation in the Nizam's dominions.

Ibrahim II.—Weight 60–183 grs. (round).

2. *Obverse.*—ابراهيم بلا ادلى “Ibrahim without a second (the unique)?”

Reverse.—غلام علي مرتضى “Slave of Ali the chosen.”

Some of Dr. Taylor's coins are dated A.H. 1022.

Muhammad.—Weight 56–267 grs.

3. *Obverse and reverse* form this couplet—

جهان زاین دو محمد گرفت زینت و جاه
یکی محمد مرشد دوم محمد شاه

“The world from these two Muhammads received beauty and dignity;
The first is Muhammad the Apostle, the second Muhammad Shah.”

Ali II.—Weight 58–179 grs.

4. *Obverse.*—علي عادل شاه سنه . . . “Ali 'Adil Shah year 1068?”

Reverse.—غلام حیدر صفدر “Slave of Haidar the rank breaker.”

Sikandar.—Weight 58–178 grs. Other date A.H. 1087.

5. *Obverse*.—سنة ۱۰۸۶ سلطان سکند قادري “Year 1086 Sultan Sikandar the powerful.”

Reverse.—خسرو گیتی ستان “Khusrau, the conqueror of the world.”

Gold coins of Muhammad of the same type as his copper coins have been described by Dr. Taylor (*J.A.S.B., Num. Supp.* No. 108 of 1912), who thinks that this king was the first of the 'Adil Shahi rulers to issue gold coins.

No silver coins of a type similar to the copper have yet been discovered. The *larin* or “fish-hook” form of money was in circulation in the seventeenth century along the western coast of India. These pieces of silver, doubled in the centre, were fabricated by Ali II., and bear the dates A.H. 1071 and 1077. Dr. Taylor (*J.A.S.B., Num. Supp.* No. 91 of 1910) reads the inscription on the two prongs as follows:—

سلطان علي عادل شاه “Sultan Ali 'Adil Shah.”

ضرب لاري دانگي سنه ... “Struck the *lārī* coin year . . .”

On one of Dr. Taylor's *larins* the title ابو المظفر شاه, Abu'l Muzaffar Shah (father of the victor), borne by Ali I., appears. The *larins* weigh from 71 to 78 grains.

VI.—*The Nizam Shahi Dynasty of Ahmadnagar.*

		A.H.	A.D.
1	Ahmad Nizam Shah	896	1490
2	Burhan Nizam Shah I.	914	1508
3	Husain Nizam Shah	961	1553
4	Murtaza Nizam Shah I.	973	1565
5	Miran Husain Nizam Shah	997	1588
6	Ismail Nizam Shah	998	1589
7	Burhan Nizam Shah II.	999	1590
8	Ibrahim Nizam Shah	1003	1594
9	Ahmad ibn Shah Tahir	1003	1594
10	Bahadur Nizam Shah... ..	1004	1595
11	Murtaza Nizam Shah II. (son of Shah Ali) ...	1007	1598
12	Mailik Ambar	1016	1607
	to	1047	1637

The founder was the son of a Brahmin of Vijayanagara, who had been captured in his infancy by the army of the Bahman king Ahmad I., and brought up as a Muhammadan. His father, having been assassinated when prime minister in A.D. 1486, Ahmad began to assert his independence. He founded Ahmadnagar in 1494, which became the capital. The territories of Ahmadnagar were incorporated into the Mughal Empire in 1637.

Copper coinage of the Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar. Of the following coins Nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, and 26 are illustrated under those figures on PLATE III.

Ahmad, A.H. 896-914, but doubtful as قلے suggests the Qutb dynasty.

Obverse.—

Reverse.—

1. احمد | شاد | قلے . . . ضرا دارالسلطنة | ب | ۹۱۳ [?]

Burhan I., A.H. 914-961, but doubtful.

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 2. | شہور فے سنہ ۹۲۹ [?] | صرب احمد نگر مرتضے | |
| 3. | سہور فے سنہ ۹۲۵ | مرتضے احمد صرب | Weight 250 grs. |
| 4. | سہور فے سنہ ۹۲۹ | نگر صرب | |
| 5. | دارالملک احمد . . . [?] | . . . برہان ساد . . . | Weight 110 grs. |
| 6. | شہور فے دولت آباد | برہان نظام شاد عا | Weight 220 grs. |

Murtaza I., A.H. 973-997, but Nos. 10-13 (a) may be *Murtaza II.*, A.H. 1007-1016. No. 13 may be an 'Adil Shah coin of a new type.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| 7. | شہور فے سنہ ۹۹۲ | ضرب مرتضے نگر | Weight 244 grs. |
| 8. | شہور فے سنہ ۹۹۹ | شہور فے سنہ ۹۹۲ | Weight 165 grs. |
| 9. | دارالملک ضرب | نگر مرتضے ۹۸۷ | |
| 10. | دارالملک . . . | نظام مرتضے بر . . . | Weight 160 grs. |
| 11. | دارالملک نظام | ضرب مرتضے بر نگر | |
| 12. | برم دارالملک بن | مرتضے عان ضرب | Weight 220 grs. |
| 13. | غلام علی . . . | مرتضے نظام ساد | Weight 165 grs. |
| | دارالملک ضرب نگر | مرتضے نظام شاد بن شاد علی 13(a) | Weight 234 grs. |

The founder was originally a Hindu boy of Vijayanagara, who had been captured by the Muhammadans. He was enrolled in the body-guard of the governor of Birar, and afterwards repaired to the camp of the Bahmani king Muhammad III., who ennobled him. He declared his independence in A.D. 1484, and made Elichpur his capital. In A.D. 1568 Tufail Khan usurped the throne when acting as regent for Burhan 'Imad Shah, but in A.D. 1574 he was captured and slain by Murtaza Shah of Ahmadnagar, who annexed the Birar territories. Birar was incorporated into the Mughal Empire in A.D. 1637, when Ahmadnagar was annexed.

IX.—*The South Indian Mints of the following Mughal Emperors of India.*

						A.H.	A.D.
3	Akbar (Elichpur only)	...	...	...	...	963	1556
4	Jahangir	...	...	...	...	1014	1605
5	Shah Jahan I.	...	...	...	...	1037	1628
6	Aurangzeb, Alamgir I.	...	...	...	...	1068	1658
6a	A'zam Shah	...	...	...	...	1118-9	1707
6b	Kam Bakhsh	...	...	...	...	1119	1707-8
7	Shah Alam I. Bahadur Shah...	...	...	...	...	1119	1707
8	Jahandar Shah...	...	...	...	...	1124	1712
9	Farrukh-Siyar	...	...	...	...	1124	1713
11	Shah Jahan II. Rafi'u-d-daula	...	...	...	...	1131	1719
12	Muhammad Shah	...	...	...	...	1131	1719
13	Ahmad Shah	...	...	...	...	1161	1748
14	Alamgir II.	...	...	...	...	1167	1754
15	Shah Alam II.	...	...	...	...	1173	1759

Adoni in the Bellary District, called Imtiyazgarh [امتیازگڑھ]

Nos. 6,¹ rupee; 7, rupee; 9, commenced the gold coinage on

¹ The numbers refer to the emperor on the list; R Y = Regnal year; the A.H. date on the coins is given in brackets.

The founder was a Turkuman chief who had come to seek his fortune in the Dakhan towards the close of the reign of the Bahmani king Muhammad III. He was soon ennobled and made governor of Telingana. He declared his independence in A.D. 1512, and assumed the title of King of Gulkanda, the name of the village where he built his capital. The seat of government was removed to Haidarabad in A.D. 1589. The territories of Gulkanda were incorporated into the Mughal Empire in A.D. 1686.

The only coins which have, as yet, been attributed to this dynasty are the common copper coins of Abdullah Qutb Shah, although his name does not appear on them, which are described but not figured in *J.A.S.B., Num. Supp.* No. 64 of 1909. Ferishta states that the King of Gulkanda struck gold coins but none have yet come to light.

5. Abdullah Qutb Shah.—Weight 108–164 grs. PLATE III, Figs. 1–3.

Obverse.—دارالسلطنه | ضرب حیدرآباد “Struck at the seat of the Sultanat Haidarabad.”

Reverse.—والسعادة | ختم | بالنجیر | ۱۰۶۸ سنه “It has come to an end well and auspiciously, year 1068.”

The pathetic legend on the reverse is said to be a prediction of the speedy downfall of his kingdom.

Copper coins of the same type, weighing 98 and 157 grs., bear the date 1095, from which it would appear that the same coins were issued by Abdullah Qutb Shah's successor.

The same legend is arranged differently on some of the coins.

VIII.—The Imad Shahi Dynasty of Birar.

					A.H.	A.D.
1	Fathullah 'Imad Shah Bahmani	...	...	...	889	1484
2	Alau-d-din 'Imad Shah	...	...	...	910	1504
3	Darya 'Imad Shah	...	...	...	935	1528
4	Burhan 'Imad Shah	...	...	...	968	1560
5	Tufail Khan	...	...	...	976	1568
				to	982	1574

Bijapur, after its capture by the Mughals, was given the epithet of Daru-z-zafar = "the abode of victory" [دارالظفر]

No. 6, muhr (A.H. 1104, 1106, 116x, R.Y. 49), rupee (R.Y. 30, A.H. 1101, 1103-6, 1108, 1110, 1115-6); 6b, rupee (R.Y. 1, 2, A.H. 1120); 7, rupee; 9, muhr, copper falus.

Chicacole (Shrikakolam) or Sikakul [سیکاکل] in Ganjam.

No. 9, muhr; 13, rupee (R.Y. 2).

Chinapatan [چیناپتن] the Mughal name for Madras.

No. 6, gold nisar (A.H. 1103, 1111), rupee (A.H. 1103, R.Y. 40-2, 49, 51); 7, rupee (A.H. 1120, R.Y. 3); 9, rupee (A.H. 1126-1130); 12, rupee (R.Y. 8).

Daulatabad [دولت آباد]

No. 5, muhr (A.H. 1052, 1062, 1064, 1066, 1068), rupee (A.H. 1037, 1057-8, 1061, 1067-8), half-rupee.

Elichpur. [ایلچپور]

No. 3, rupee; 4, rupee; 6, rupee (A.H. 1117); 7, rupee (A.H. 1123), copper falus (A.H. 1120); 8, rupee; 9, rupee (A.H. 1125); 12, copper falus (A.H. 1135); 13, copper falus; 14, copper falus; 15, copper falus. No gold coins of this mint.

Firozgarh [فیروزگڑہ]. Town not identified.

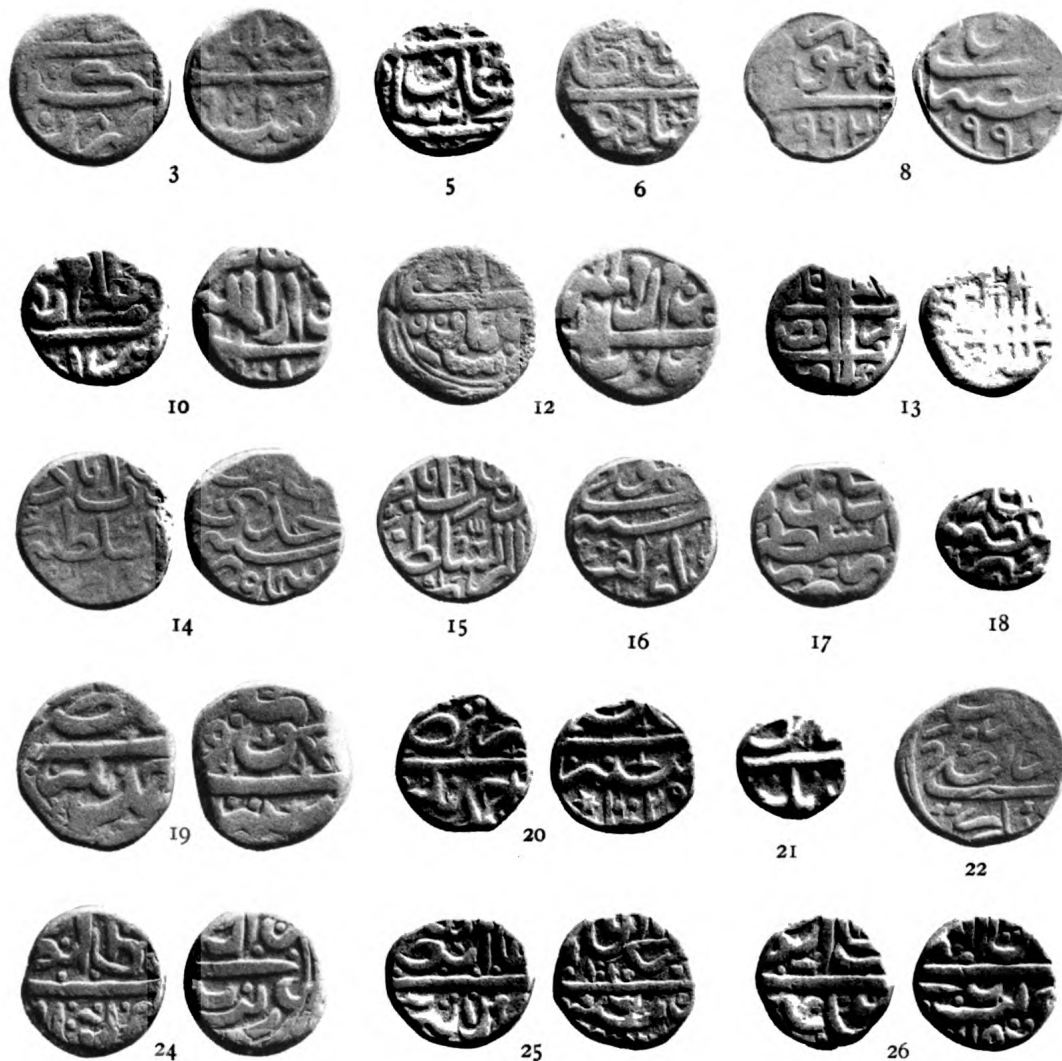
No. 7, muhr (A.H. 1122), rupee (A.H. 1123).

Gulkanda [گلکنده] seven miles from Haidarabad.

No. 5, rupee and half-rupee; 6, rupee (A.H. 1069, 1071, 1076, R.Y. 1, 4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 17-19, 23-27, 29, 31). A few gold mohurs were struck here, but no copper coins. The Mughal mint was transferred to Haidarabad in the 32nd year of Aurangzeb (A.H. 1100).

Haidarabad [حیدرآباد] is called Daru-l-jihad [دارالجهاد] = "the abode of religious warfare" on the coins of Aurangzeb and Kam

COPPER COINS OF THE AHMAD SHAHS OF AHMADNAGAR.



COPPER COINS OF ALI ADIL SHAH [ALI I.] OF BIJAPUR.



COPPER COINS OF ABDULLAH QUTB SHAH OF GULKANDA.



PHILOPHANC CO. S. E.

Bakhsh, and Farkhunda-bunyad [فرخنده بنیاد = "of auspicious foundation"] on those of Shah Alam I. and Muhammad Shah.

No. 6, muhr, rupee (A.H. 1099, 1100, 1107, 1112, 1114), copper falus (A.H. 1107, 1108); 6b, muhr (A.H. 1120); 7, rupee (A.H. 1122), copper falus; 12, muhr and rupee.

Jalnapur [جالنہ پور] is the same place as Jalna, 39 miles east of Aurungabad.

No. 4, rupee (A.H. 1015).

Karimabad [کریم آباد] has not been identified.

No. 6, rupee (R.Y. 3); 7, rupee (A.H. 1122, R.Y. 4).

Kadapa, Cuddapah, or Kurpa [the old name, کریا]

No. 6, rupee (R.Y. 37).

Mailapur [میلا پور] is the name of a part of the city of Madras.

No. 6, copper falus (A.H. 111x).

Masulipatam or Machhliptan [مچھلیپتن = "the city of fish"] on the Coromandel coast.

No. 6 and continued by his successors until A.H. 1197, copper falus (A.H. 1110-1122, 1131, 1134, 1170, 1173, 1179, 1197), copper half falus (A.H. 1115, 1118). The R.Y. does not always agree with the A.H.

Sa'dnagar [سعد نگر] or Akloj, 55 miles north-west of Sholapur.

No. 9, rupee (R.Y. 5).

Sholapur [شولا پور]

No. 6, muhr, rupee (A.H. 1081, 1096), copper falus (R.Y. 5), copper half falus; 7, muhr and rupee, copper falus and half falus (R.Y. 5); 9, copper falus.

Toragal [تورگل] is situated about 36 miles south of Galgali in the Bijapur district.

No. 7, muhr (R.Y. 4), rupee (R.Y. 4).

Zafarabad [ظفرآباد] may be Bidar. The same name was given by Tipu, Sultan of Maisur, to Gurrumcondah.

No. 5, rupee (A.H. 1069) ; 6, rupee (A.H. 1070, 1074, 1079) ;
7, rupee (A.H. 1119).

Zafarnagar [ظفرنگر] a town south of Ahmadnagar.

No. 4, rupee ; 5, rupee (3rd and 5th Ilahi year, A.H. 1043) ;
6, rupee.

X.—*Nizams of the Dakhan.*

		A.H.	A.D.
1	Mir Kamru-d-din Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf-jah...	1124	1712
2	Mir Ahmad Khan Nasir Jang (son of No. 1) ...	1161	1748
3	Hidayat Muhayyin-d-din Khan Muzaffar Jang (grandson of No. 1) ...	1164	1750
4	Salabat Jang (third son of No. 3) ...	1164	1751
5	Nizam Ali Asaf-jah-i-sani (third son of No. 1) ...	1176	1763
6	Sikandar-jah (second son of No. 5) ...	1218	1803
7	Talmait Ali Khan Bahadur Nasiru-d-daula (eldest son of No. 6)...	1244	1829
8	Afzalud-daula ...	1273	1857
9	Mir Mahbub Ali Khan Bahadur Fath Jang Nizam-ud-daula ...	1286	1869

The founder was a distinguished soldier of the Emperor Aurangzeb, who was appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk (= Regulator of the State) and Subahdar of the Dakhan in A.D. 1713, but he eventually threw off the control of the Delhi court, and established the independent kingdom about A.D. 1723, now governed by his descendants.

The copper coins of the 6th, 7th, and 8th Nizams, struck in the name of the Emperor of Delhi at the Aurungabad mint, bear their initials, viz., س (S), ن (N), and ا (A) respectively.

For the coinage of the Nizams see p. 270 *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v, 1908.

XI.—*The Nawabs of the Karnatik.*

		A.H.	A.D.
1	Daud Khan Pani (made Nawab of Arkat by Zulfakar Khan)	1110	1698
2	S'a'adatu'lla (first assumed title of Nawab of the Karnatik)	1120	1708
3	Dost 'Ali	1146	1733
4	Saffdar 'Ali	1153	1740
5	Murtaza 'Ali (expelled after a few days)	1155	1742
6	Khwajah Abdullah Khan (appointed by the Nizam)	1155	1742
7	Anwaru-d-din Khan (appointed by the Nizam)	1157	1744
8	Saiyid Muhammad Khan	1157	1744
9	Husain 'Ali or Chanda Sahib (appointed by the Nizam)	1162	1749
10	Muhammad 'Ali, or Wala-jah	1165	1752
11	'Umdatul 'umara	1209	1795
12	'Ali Husain (deposed by the East India Company)	1216	1801
13	'Azim d'daula	1216	1801
	Territories delivered over to the East India Company	1234	1819

The Karnatik under the Mughals formed one of the principal provinces of the "subah" or government of the Dakhan, and was administered by the subahdar's nawab, or deputy, under the title of Nawab of Arkat, the whole nawabship taking its name from the capital. The office was held by commission from Delhi, the subahdar of the Dakhan being allowed to make temporary appointments when vacant. When the Mughal Empire fell into decay the subahdar claimed the right of appointment as his prerogative, and the Nawab strove to render it hereditary in his family.

Their dominions under the Mughals included nearly the whole of the south-eastern portion of the peninsula from the Krishna to the country immediately north of the Coleroon, and at the same time

it was so confined on the west as not to leave it an average breadth of more than 75 miles.

The Nawabs struck the "three-swami" or Kuruki, Porto Novo, and Madras star pagodas at various times, which formed the chief currency after the disappearance of the coins of the Vijayanagara empire from circulation.

S'a'adatu'lla struck the Porto Novo type of pagoda with the Persian letters الله (illah) on a convex granulated surface. Saffdar Ali struck a similar coin with the Persian letter ع (ain) on the reverse. These were copies of the pagodas struck by the ex-rajahs of Vijayanagara when resident at Chandragiri, and were finally imitated by the East India Company. Muhammad 'Ali struck various pagodas at Arkat, Trichinopoli, and Tiruvamur, and Arkat and Pondicherry rupees. It is said "that the rupees struck at Tiruvamur did not bear the name of the mint, but that of Arkat, and that the mint officers, to distinguish them, added to the die a mark like that on their foreheads, probably the triple 'nama' of the Sri Vaishna sect."¹ This was probably the lotus flower, which the Madras mint officials of the East India Company afterwards retained as a mint mark to differentiate the coins from the Arkat silver series struck at the Calcutta mint.

The copper coins of Muhammad 'Ali have been described in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910, pp. 156-7, 324-5.

XII.—*The Muhammadan Usurpers of Maisur.*

		A.M.	A.H.	A.D.
1	Haider 'Ali Khan	—	1175	1761
2	Tipu Sultan	—	1197	1782
	Hindu line restored after the death of Tipu	1227	1214	1799

In A.H. 1201 Tipu instituted the Muludi era (dating from the birth of Muhammad instead of from the year of the flight), which date appears on his coins as 1215 (A.M.).

¹ Letter from the Dewan to Sir W. Elliot, p. 144, footnote.

Zafarabad [ظفرآباد], probably Gurrumcondah. Copper in A.M. 1216 and 1218.

The Hindu and Muhammadan coins of Maisur have been described in vol. v, 1909, of this *Journal*.

THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

1. *The Portuguese.*

The Portuguese under Vasco da Gama landed at Kalikut in 1498. Their early discoverers were not traders, but admirals with a royal commission to conquer territory. At the zenith of their power, from 1590 to 1610, they held the fortified towns of Diu, Damao, Goa, Chaul, Hanowar, Mangalore, Kannanur, Cochin, Calaiate, Colombo, and many other places. However, their power, after lasting nearly a century, fell into insignificance, owing partly to the efforts of the Dutch and British. Their only possessions in India now are Goa, Damao, and Diu; all on the west coast, with an area of 1,086 square miles.

They struck numerous coins in gold, silver, copper, and tutenag. Their chief mints were Goa, Damao, and Diu the two last being closed in 1864 and the first in 1880; after which date Portuguese coins were struck on their behalf by the Government of India. Their coins were published by Da Cunha in the *Jr. Bom. As. Soc.*, vols. xiv and xv, 1882.

2. *The Dutch.*

The Dutch were the first European nation to break through the Portuguese monopoly of oriental trade. In 1664 they wrested from the Portuguese all their earlier settlements on the Malabar coast. The knell of Dutch supremacy, however, was sounded by Clive, when he defeated them at Chinsurah in 1758. In the wars from 1781 to 1811, Britain wrested from Holland all her colonies. At the present time the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the mainland of India.

Large numbers of their coins are still to be found on the west coast; the "duits" or "challis" were current for many years in Cochin and other places on this coast, and were exported for the eastern currency. The Dutch coinage consisted of:—

- I. *Rough coins of local manufacture* stamped with 2, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ St (Stuiver = Stiver), the ST being frequently inverted by error.
- II. *Copper "duits" or "challis."* $\frac{1}{4}$ stivers. See Plate II, 11a, b, d, e, and f.
 - a. Holland.

Obverse.—The arms of Holland.
Reverse.—V.O.C. (Vereinigste Ostindische Compagnie) with mint-mark S; rose between two pellets above. Dates in my collection from 1732 to 1790.
 - b. Zeeland.
 1. *Obverse.*—The arms of Zeeland.
Reverse.—As a, but mint-mark varied. Dates in my collection from 1735 to 1790.
 2. As No. 1, but legend "Luctor et emergo" round the coat-of-arms on the reverse.
 - c. Zeeland.
 1. *Obverse.*—ZEELANDIA.
Reverse.—V.O.C.
 2. *Obverse.*—ZEELANDIA surmounted by a castle and two stars.
Reverse.—V.O.C.
 - d. Gelderland.

Obverse.—The arms of Gelderland.
Reverse.—As a, but mint-mark varied. Dates in my collection from 1786 to 1790.
 - e. Utrecht.

Obverse.—The arms of Utrecht.
Reverse.—As a, but mint-mark varied. Dates in my collection from 1744 to 1790 (others to 1794).
 - f. Friseland.

Obverse.—The arms of Friseland.
Reverse.—As a, but mint-mark varied. Dates from 1731 to 1792.
 - g. Gelderland.

Obverse.—D. GEL. RÆ.
Reverse.—V.O.C.
- III. *Half challis, copper.*
 - a. *Obverse.*—Plain arms crowned.
Reverse.—V.O.C. with mint-mark. Dates from 1753 to 1755.
 - b. *Obverse.*—Crowned shield containing lion rampant (Holland).
Reverse.—V.O.C.

IV. *Double challis, copper.**Obverse.*—The arms of Utrecht.*Reverse.*—V.O.C. and mint-mark above, date 1790 below.V. *Other Indo-Dutch copper coins.*1. *Obverse.*—V.O.C. $\frac{1}{2}$ st. above.*Reverse.*—Sword surrounded by "Batavia Anno 1644."2. *Obverse.*—Arms of Holland with $\frac{1}{2}$ on left and C on right.*Reverse.*—A star | INDIAE | BATAV3. *Obverse.*—As No. 2, but 5 on left, $\frac{1}{8}$ on right, and G (Galle) underneath.*Reverse.*—A star | INDIAE | BATAV | 1808. Other date 1825.4. $\frac{1}{2}$ stiver.*Obverse.*—Arms of Holland.*Reverse.*—A star | NEDERL. | INDIE | 1825 | S.5. $\frac{1}{4}$ stiver.*Obverse.*—As No. 4, but $\frac{1}{4}$ st.*Reverse.*—As No. 4.

6. 2 cents.

Obverse.—As No. 4, but 2 c (= 2 cents).*Reverse.*—NEDERL | INDIE | 1835. Other dates 1830 and 1836.

7. 1 cent.

Obverse.—As No. 4, but 1 c.*Reverse.*—As No. 6, but date 1840.VI. *Dutch copper coins in Ceylon.* Coins of $4\frac{1}{2}$, 2, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ stiver of local manufacture, few of which bear the date.1. *Obverse.*—V.O.C. surmounted by C [Colombo]. "Stiver" in full with date below.*Reverse.*—The Tamil initial of "Elankai" (vernacular name for Ceylon).2. *Obverse.*—V.O.C. surmounted by G (Galle). ST (for stiver).*Reverse.*—As No. 1.3. *Obverse.*—V.O.C. surmounted by T (Trincomallee). St (for stiver).*Reverse.*—As No. 1.VII. *Indo-Dutch silver coins.* 1 and 2 stivers of 1820 to 1830.1. *Obverse.*—Arms of the respective states surmounted by a crown with 1 S or 2 S in the field. Milling round the field.*Reverse.*—Name of state, *e.g.*, HOL | LAN | DIA, ZEE | LAN | DIA with date below.

Those of Frisia, or West | FR | ISIA date so far back as 1660.

2. *Obverse*.—Lion rampant to left.
Reverse.—As No. 1.
6 stiver.
3. *Obverse*.—Arms, date, and 6 STIVER in the field.
Reverse.—A ship.

NOTE.—The coat-of-arms on the Dutch coins is invariably surmounted by a crown which varies with the arms of the province.

For Indo-Dutch coins see p. 45 Tufnell's *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*, and p. 343, vol. v, *British Numismatic Journal*.

3. *The French.*

The first French East India Company was started in 1604. For some 70 or 80 years the French and British existed side by side in complete harmony, with no ambition of territorial aggrandisement. The war of the Austrian succession in Europe lit the first flame of hostility on the Coromandel coast.

In 1746, Madras was captured by the French, but was restored by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. From this time, however, the rivalry of the two nations was keen, and found its opportunities in the disputed successions of the native princes. The British finally defeated the French at Wandewash in 1760. Two years later the French possessions were restored, but the opportunity of taking the place of the paramount power in India was gone, nor were their later efforts, which were continued till 1802, more successful.

Their coins, usually distinguished by the Gallic cock or fleur-de-lys, have been noticed in Tufnell's *Hints to Coin Collectors in South India*, p. 44, and in vol. v of this *Journal*, p. 345.

4. *The Danes.*

The Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, their first vessel reaching India in 1618. They obtained from the Nayaka of Tanjore a tract of country, 18 miles north of Negapatam, where they built the fort of Dansborg, the whole settlement being known as Tranquebar. Shortly afterwards they acquired Porto Novo, and

Serampur near Calcutta. Their possessions were captured in 1808 by the British, but restored in 1814. They were, however, purchased by the British in 1845.

Indo-Danish Coinage.

Christian IV., A.D. 1588–1648—

1. Lead.

Obverse.—Crowned C with 4 enclosed.

Reverse.—T.B. (= Tranquebar) | CAS | 1645. Weight 64 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

2. Copper.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—TB | KAS | 164x.

Frederick III., A.D. 1648–1670—

1. Lead.

Obverse.—Crowned F. 3.

Reverse.—(a) Arms of Jutland; (b) The Holstein nettle leaf; (c) The Gullandische lamb; (d) Arms of Storman; (e) Arms of Delmenhorst; (f) Arms of Island; (g) A rose; (h) D.B. (= Dansborg) and date; (i) An elephant; (k) A cross; (l) A dragon.

2. Copper.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—The Norwegian lion. Weight 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ grs.

3. Copper.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—ANNO | 1667.

Christian V., A.D. 1670–1699—

1. Silver.—Piaster.

Obverse.—C 5 crowned.

Reverse.—PIASTER.

2. Silver.—5 fanos.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—5 fanos and date 1683.

3. Silver.—2 fanos.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—2 fanos and date 1683

4. Lead.
Obverse.—C5 crowned and linked, and date 1687.
Reverse.—D.O.C. (Dansk Ostindisk Compagni): W on left, H on right, V.K. below = W.H.V.K. (initials of Danish issuing officer).
5. Lead.
Obverse.—C5 linked and crowned.
Reverse.—D.O.C. linked and crowned. Weight $36\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
6. Lead.
Obverse.—As No. 5.
Reverse.—As No. 5. Weight $76\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
7. Copper.
Obverse.—As No. 5.
Reverse.—Blank. Weight $11\frac{1}{4}$ grs.
8. Copper.
Obverse.—CC linked and crowned, 8 on left, 9 on right = (16)89.
Reverse.—D.O.C. linked and crowned: W on left, H on right, V.K. below = W.H.V.K. Weight $13\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
 Other dates (16)90, 16(91).
9. Copper.
Obverse.—CC linked and crowned.
Reverse.—D.O.C. linked and crowned: 1 on left, 6 on right, 92 below = 1692. Weight $12\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
 Other dates 1693, 1694, 1697, 1699.

Frederick IV., A.D. 1699–1730—

1. Silver.—1 fanos.
2. Silver.—2 fanos.
3. Copper.—10 cash.
Obverse.—FF linked and crowned.
Reverse.—D.O.C. linked | X | KAS.
4. Copper.—2 cash.
Obverse.—As No. 3.
Reverse.—D.O.C. linked, 2 Kas below. Weight 28 grs.
5. Copper.—1 cash.
Obverse.—FF linked and crowned.
Reverse.—D.O.C. linked, and crowned. Weight 13 and $17\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
6. Copper.
Obverse.—A monogram consisting of F4 crowned.
Reverse.—D.O.C. linked and crowned. Weight $12\frac{6}{7}$ grs.

7. Copper.

Obverse.—F4 linked and crowned.*Reverse.*—D.O.C. linked and crowned. Weight $13\frac{1}{8}$ grs.

8. Copper.—4 cash.

Obverse.—A monogram consisting of F4 crowned.*Reverse.*—T.B. in monogram = (Tranquebar).*Christian VI.*, A.D. 1730–1746—

1. Silver.—2 fanos dated 1731.

2. Silver.—1 fanos dated 1731.

3. Copper.

Obverse.—C with 6 enclosed, 17 on left, 30 on right = 1730.*Reverse.*—The Norwegian lion. Weight $17\frac{1}{2}$ and 19 grs.

Other date 1732.

4. Copper.—1 cash.

Obverse.—C with 6 enclosed, crowned.*Reverse.*—D.A.C. (Dansk Asiatisk Compagni) linked and crowned.Weight $12\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

5. Copper.—1 cash.

Obverse.—C with 6 enclosed.*Reverse.*—D.A.C. linked. Weight 10 and $12\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

6. Copper.—2 cash.

Obverse.—C with 6 enclosed, crowned.*Reverse.*—D.A.C. linked and crowned · 2 · below. Weight $23\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

7. Copper.—4 cash.

Obverse.—As No. 6.*Reverse.*—As No. 6, but · 4 · below. Weight $40\frac{1}{8}$ grs.

8. Copper.—4 cash.

Obverse.—As No. 7, but C6 reversed by mistake.*Reverse.*—As No. 7. Weight 34 grs.

9. Copper.—1 cash.

Obverse.—C with 6 enclosed, crowned.*Reverse.*—T.B. in monogram (= Tranquebar). Weight 17 grs.

10. Copper.—1 cash.

Obverse.—C with 6 enclosed, crowned, date 1732.*Reverse.*—As No. 9.

Frederick V., A.D. 1746–1766—

1. Silver.—2 royalins, dated 1755, 1756.
2. Silver.—1 royalin, dated 1755, 1756, 1762, 1765, 1766.
3. Silver.—2 ducats, dated 1746.
4. Silver.—1 ducat, dated 1746.
5. Silver.—Piaster, dated 1749.
6. Copper.—4 cash.
Obverse.—F5 linked and crowned.
Reverse.—D.A.C. linked and crowned, 17 on left, 61 on right, 4 below.
 Weight $36\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
 Other date 17–63.
7. Copper.—1 cash.
Obverse.—As No. 6.
Reverse.—D.A.C. linked and crowned. 1 below. Weight $9\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Christian VII., A.D. 1766–1808—

1. Gold pagoda.
Obverse.—C with 7 enclosed on a granulated surface, crowned.
Reverse.—Figure of a deity as on the Chandragiri pagoda.
2. Silver.—1 royalin = $\frac{1}{8}$ rupee.
Obverse.—C with 7 enclosed, crowned.
Reverse.—Danish arms: 17 on left, 73 on right = 1773. ROYALIN
 above. Weight 20 and $20\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
 Other dates 1775, 1776, 1780, 1781, 1786, 1788, 1792.
3. Silver.—2 royalins = $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee.
Obverse.—As No. 2.
Reverse.—Danish arms; 17 on left, 74 on right = 1774. 2 ROYALINER
 above. Weight 40 grs.
 Other dates 1775, 1776, 1781, 1787, 1796, 1807.
4. Copper.—1 cash.
Obverse.—C with 7 enclosed, crowned.
Reverse.—D.A.C. linked and crowned, 17 on left, and 60 on right
 = 1760, 1 below. Weight 9 grs.
 Other dates 1777, 1780.
5. Copper.—2 cash.
Obverse.—As No. 4.
Reverse.—D.A.C. linked and crowned, 17 on left, 67 on right = 1767,
 2 below. Weight $17\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
 Other dates 1770, 1780.

6. Copper.—4 cash.
Obverse.—As No. 4.
Reverse.—As No. 5, but 4 below. Weight $36\frac{9}{10}$ grs.
 Other dates 1768, 1770, 1771, 1777, 1800.
7. Copper.—10 cash.
Obverse.—CC linked and crowned.
Reverse.—D.A.C. linked and crowned; below it X KAS. A° (Anno)
 1768. Weight $89\frac{1}{2}$ and $98\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
 Other dates 1770, 1772, 1777.
8. Copper.—4 cash.
Obverse.—C with 7 enclosed, crowned.
Reverse.—IV | KAS | 1782. Weight 37 grs.
 Other dates 1780, 1788, 1790, 1797, 1800, 1807.
9. Copper.—4 cash.
Obverse.—As No. 8.
Reverse.—[IV] | KAS | 1786 | R. (initial of Danish officer issuing the coin). Weight 32 grs.
10. Copper.—4 cash.
Obverse.—As No. 8.
Reverse.—VI instead of IV by mistake, [17]82. Weight 39 grs.
11. Copper.—10 cash.
Obverse.—As No. 8.
Reverse.—X | KAS | 1782. Weight $98\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
 Other dates 1786, 1788, 1790.

Frederick VI., A.D. 1808–1839—

No coins were issued during the British occupation of 1808–14.

1. Silver.—Fano, dated 1816, 1818. Weight 35 grs.
2. Silver.—2 fano, dated 1816.
3. Copper.—1 cash.
Obverse.—The king's monogram FR, crowned. VI below.
Reverse.—·I· | KAS | 1819. Weight $9\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
4. Copper.—4 cash.
Obverse.—As No. 3.
Reverse.—·IV· | KAS | 1815. Weight 38 grs.
 Other dates 1816, 1817, 1820, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1830, 1831,
 1832, 1833, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839.

5. Copper.—10 cash.

Obverse.—As No. 3.

Reverse.—·X· | KAS | 1816. Weight 94 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

Other dates 1822, 1838, 1839.

Christian VIII., A.D. 1839–1848—

1. Copper.—4 cash.

Obverse.—The king's monogram CR, crowned; VIII below.

Reverse.—·IV· | KAS | 1840. Weight 39 $\frac{3}{10}$ grs.

Other dates 1839, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845.

2. Copper.—10 cash.

Obverse.—As No. 1.

Reverse.—·X· | KAS | 1842.

For Indo-Danish coins see Ranga Chari's "Indo-Danish Coins," *Madr. Jr. of Lit. and Sc.*, 1890; Dr. Hultzsck, "Danish Coins from Tranquebar, *Ind. Ant.*, May, 1893; *British Numismatic Journal*, 1908, vol. v, p. 344.

5. *The British.*

The English East India Company was founded in 1599 with a purely commercial aim. For 150 years the Company confined itself to extending trade, but the difficulties of protecting their commerce forced them to arm in defence of their factories. The English established themselves at Kalikut and Cranganur in 1616 and Tellicherry afterwards became their chief emporium on the west coast. The Portuguese retired to Goa and the Dutch to the Spice Islands. The nucleus of Madras city was erected in 1639. After the defeat of the French in 1760, the British waged four successive wars with the Muhammadan usurpers of Maisur, the most formidable antagonists they had ever encountered in India. After the death of Tipu at Seringapatam, the British had to meet the local chieftains, who long clung to their independence after their country was ceded to the East India Company. Since the final destruction of the predatory armies of the Pindarees in 1817–18, Southern India has enjoyed, with little

exception, a condition of internal peace such as had never been approached in any period of its previous history.

For the coinage of the East India Company, see Thurston's *History of the Coinage of the East India Company*, Madras, 1890, and vol. v of this *Journal*.

For much of the foregoing information I am indebted to Sir W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*; Dr. Hultzsch's numerous contributions to the *Indian Antiquary* and *J.R.A.S.*; Capt. Tufnell's *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*; Dr. Bidie's "Pagoda Coins of South India," *J.R.A.S.*, 1883; the Rev. E. Loventhal's *Coins of Tinnevely*; Hawkes' *Coins of Mysore*; Ranga Chari's "Indo-Danish Coins," *Mad. Jr. of Lit. and Sc.*, 1890; Dr. Taylor's and Dr. Codrington's publications, and Murray's *Handbook of Madras*, 1879.

REVIEWS.

Italo-Greek Coins of Southern Italy. By the Rev. A. W. Hands. Spink and Son, Ltd., London. Five shillings net.

This volume is the third of a series on Greek coins which we owe to the genius and industry of Mr. Hands. In his two former volumes the author struck new ground, not, of course, in the area he covered, but in the manner of his pilgrimage through it, and his avoidance of the usual dry path. Of the period treated in this volume the ground, so far, has been covered only by Sambon and the British Museum Catalogues. But in the latter, especially, no details whatever of the history of the coinage are dealt with, and beyond these works one must seek far and wide for such information within the scope of numismatics. Mr. Hands, however, is rich in classical lore, for no fewer than thirty-eight authors are quoted and he lights up the dark corners of history, revealing their hidden treasures. For the comfort of those whose Greek and Latin are rather rusty we may add that the quotations are translated. Amongst other coins described are those of Acerrae, Atella, Caiatia, Calatia, Cales, Capua, Comulteria, Nola, Hyria, Fensernia, Nuceria Alfaterna, Phistelia, Suessa, Teanum Sidicinum, Romano-Campanian Coins, Apulia, Arpi, Ausculum, Calabria, Barium, Butuntum, Caelia, Canusium, Hyria or Urium, Luceria, Mateola, Neapolis of Apulia, Rubi, Samadi, Teate, Venusia, Calabria, Baletium, Brundisium, Graxa, Hyria or Orra, Neretum, Sturnium, Uxentum, Lucania and the Bruttii, etc. The coins are described and are generally illustrated, being prefaced in each instance with interesting—one may almost say chatty—accounts of the places to which they belong. There is a very useful chapter on “the six different pounds of Italy,” which is a *résumé* of Dr. Haeberlin’s

Die Metrologischen Grundlagen der ältesten Mittelitalischen Münzsysteme, and the General Index and Index of Types add materially to the practical usefulness of the book. There is certainly nothing cheaper, and there is probably nothing more useful as an introduction to the numismatics of the Greek Colonies of Italy than this work.

The Coin Types of Imperial Rome. By Comm. Fr. Gneecchi, translated by Emily A. Hands. Spink and Son, Ltd., London. Eight shillings net.

The three or four volumes on Numismatics by Comm. Fr. Gneecchi are well-known to all interested in that science who possess a knowledge of Italian. Through the pages of Messrs. Spink's *Numismatic Circular* the number of those indebted to his researches has been largely increased, first by the translation in monthly instalments of Gneecchi's "Monete Romano," since reprinted in one volume as "Roman Coins," and now by the publication in book form of a similar series of articles on Roman coin types. This volume is complementary to the former. It comprises a number of short paragraphs on the various types that occupy the reverses of the Imperial coinage. The book is divided into three parts and deals first with "gods, demi-gods and heroes"; this is followed by a description of each of the allegorical personifications to be found on the coins: *e.g.*, *abundantia*, *aequitas*, *aeternitas*, *uberitas*, *victoria*, *virtus*, etc. The various attributes of the divinities as used upon the coins are noted, as also are the different combinations of the personifications. The third part deals with such types as are connected with the emperor for the time being—such as allocutions, congiaria, departures and arrivals, happy events, the senate, the people, the army, games, monuments, etc. There are twenty-eight pages of plates, which abundantly illustrate the letterpress and handsomely adorn the book, and not least useful are the tables, which reveal at a glance the types that are to be found in the issues of any emperor.

The Numismatist, the monthly magazine of the American Numismatic Association, 447A, State Street, Brooklyn.

This magazine, which reaches nearly everyone in the United States interested in numismatics has of late devoted attention to early American numismatic issues, more particularly those medals and coins which were issued prior to the Revolutionary War. Of the early medals of this series some are of a very interesting character. For example, we cite the Phipps-Albemarle series of medals, an extended article concerning which, fully illustrated, appeared in a recent issue of *The Numismatist*, having been written by the late Dr. W. T. R. Marvin, of Boston, the former editor of *The American Journal of Numismatics*. Another medal, of Spanish issue, commemorates the capture of Moro Castle, at Havana, Cuba, by the British forces under Lord Albemarle and Admiral Sir George Pocock, in 1762, part of whose forces gathered at Staten Island, New York, prior to the assault. *The Numismatist*, however, seems to cover the entire field of numismatics, and its subscription price, post paid, is \$1.75 yearly.

The Provincial Token-coinage of the Eighteenth-century. By R. Dalton and S. H. Hamer. Any part, six shillings.

This work has now reached its fourth part, and its purpose is not only to describe every token known to have been issued during the period treated, but also to illustrate it by the autotype process—and very excellent the illustrations are. The authors may be congratulated upon this new departure in token-numismatics, and it is certainly an advance upon anything of the kind previously published. Part I contained an explanatory Introduction, and commenced treating the subject under each county in its alphabetic order, from Bedford to Cumberland. Part II comprised Derbyshire and Kent. Part III continued Kent and ended with Lincolnshire, whilst Part IV brings us to Middlesex. The promise of the prospectus has been amply fulfilled and one may now safely assume that the whole work will maintain its position as a standard treatise of its subject.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

SESSION 1912.

VOL. IX.

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The British Numismatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

1912.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 24th, 1912.

MR. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The Rev. W. A. Laughlin, M.A., Ph.D., and Messrs. Lionel Arthur Woodward, John Henry Searcy, and Herbert Jesse Farrow were nominated for, and Messrs. Guernsey W. Webb, William Henry Quarrell, M.A., F.S.A., Alfred Tarver, and Stewart Algernon Clarke were elected to membership.

Presentation of the John Sanford Saltus Medal.

The medal, which had been awarded to Miss Helen Farquhar by the ballot of the Members at the Anniversary Meeting for her contributions to the *Journal* on "The Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs," was formally presented to her by the President.

Presentations.

His Majesty the King of Italy.—Volume ii of *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*.

In acknowledgment of this donation the President commented upon the beauty and excellence of the work.

Dr. E. G. Courteau.—*The Coins and Tokens of Nova Scotia*, by the Donor.

Messrs. Spink & Son.—Volume xix of their *Monthly Numismatic Circular*.

The American Numismatic Society.—*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Contemporary Medals*.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—Ancient British stater of the Iceni. *Obverse*.—Convex, two crescents back to back, their cusps forked, intersecting a line of pellets between them ; above, a triangle of pellets ; below, an exergual line beneath which are traces of pellets. *Reverse*.—Concave, horse to the right ; above, a star of seven pellets and a ring-ornament ; below, a star of six rays ; in front, two pellets. *Cf. Evans*, XIV, 12 (now in the British Museum), and *Evans*, XXIII, 1.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—An almost complete series of the long-cross coins of Henry III. and Edward I. to which the exhibitor appended the following note :—

“ The collection of long-cross pennies, numbering 315, exhibited this evening are from the great Brussels find with the exception of the two of Edward I.'s time. In consequence of the thousands of coins from which these have been carefully selected, they are probably the most complete collection of this period ever shown, being especially rich in the varieties known as the ‘*Terci*’ series and in that known as the late ‘*Rex III.*,’ showing the king's neck. There are also four of the very rare ‘*Henricus Rex*’ class, twelve of

the transitional 'Sceptre-Star' class, of which only three specimens were known before the discovery, in August, 1908, of the Brussels hoard; and eight of the so-called 'pearled crown' variety, which was previously unknown. The selection demonstrates how largely the Brussels find has added to our knowledge of the various issues of this reign."

Mr. S. M. Spink.—An example of the "Gold Penny" of Henry III., from the collection of the late Sir John Evans.

Mr. Shirley-Fox.—Halfpenny of Edward V. upon which the mint-mark, rose and sun, owing to double striking, was unfortunately imperfect; but the coin was from the same obverse die as that recently exhibited to the Society by Mr. F. A. Walters, which showed the mint-mark quite distinctly.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—A half-groat and penny of Henry VII.'s first coinage, of the London mint with mint-marks lys-on-rose.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—

1. Profile groat of Henry VII. with mint-marks lys on the obverse and a greyhound's head on the reverse.
2. James I. half-crown, second issue, mint-mark lys and struck in 1604. On the reverse the Irish harp is plain and in the Scottish arms the lion is large.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—Three clippings of silver coins recently found in a jar during the demolition of a house in Peterborough. The exhibitor added the following note:—

"As I showed in my paper on clippings of coins, such specimens as these are conclusive proof of the great fraud the practice inflicted on the community and are some excuse for the extreme penalties inflicted upon the offenders. The large circular clipping weighs 34·3 grains and is taken from a shilling of Queen Elizabeth, the legal weight of which was 95·5 grains, so we have here a robbery of upwards of 33 per cent. of the metal.

"The curiously coiled clipping, resembling a snake ring, weighs 64·3 grains and is from a half-crown of Charles I.,

weighing usually 231 grains—a theft of upwards of 27 per cent.

“The third clipping is only a fragment but it weighs 25·3 grains and is again from a Charles I. half-crown. I have to thank Mr. J. W. Bodger, the Honorary Secretary of the Peterborough Museum, for allowing me to exhibit the clippings.”

Mr. Henry Garside.—Bronze twelfth and twenty-fourth of a shilling for Jersey dated 1911 bearing the crowned bust of King George V. on the obverse.

Paper.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence read the treatise on the long-cross coinage of Henry III. and Edward I., which is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 21st, 1912.

MR. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Mr. John Reilly, junr., was nominated for, and the Rev. W. A. Laughlin, M.A., Ph.D., and Messrs. Lionel Arthur Woodward, John Henry Searcy, and Herbert Jesse Farrow were elected to membership.

Presentations.

Mr. Henry Symonds.—

View of Silver Coins 1662–1837, by G. Marshall.

Gaulish and British Coins, by Beale Poste.

Tokens of London, by J. Y. Akerman.

Coins and Medals, by S. Lane Poole.

The Coinage of Scotland, by J. Lindsay.

The Mint and Coins of Durham, by M. Noble.

Irish Coins, by J. Simon.

The Early Coinage of Henry Plantagenet, by N. Heywood.

Yorkshire Tokens and Seals, by W. Bryne.

Exhibitions.

Mr. J. Sanford Saltus.—Gold badge of the Society of the Yellow Rose of America.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—Three ancient British coins and other relics, found at Peterborough, which he described as follows :—

“I exhibit one gold and two silver ancient British coins which were found on April 16th, 1886, during street excavations, about 6 feet below the surface in Peterborough. With these coins were many Roman remains, viz., pottery, bronze coins so late as of the fourth century, a bodkin, three brooches, rings, etc., an iron bolt and hinge, skull of a pig, teeth of the horse, boar, and sheep, an abundance of bones of various animals, several broken tiles and one human skeleton. Perhaps the most interesting of the accompanying objects was a perfect bronze torque of the late Bronze Age, that is, of perhaps 500 to 800 B.C. All these coins and relics were lying in a black silty earth resting upon and in part mixed with the upper shales of cornbrash rock. Many of the slabs of rock and stone were stained black as if from the percolation of sewage water, so that it is very possible that the site had been the refuse vault of a Roman villa.

“The gold stater was of good metal and weighed 77·1 grains, corresponding to Plate B of *Evans*, namely, obverse plain and convex with a large boss surrounded by a narrow depressed border, which had numerous striations on it. The reverse had a disjointed and tailless horse to the right, with a large pellet below, and pellets, oval ring-ornaments and crescents above. The exergual line was ornamented with a cable, or chain, pattern. Similar gold coins occur so far north as in Lincolnshire, while they have

been so frequently found in North-Eastern France that French numismatists claim them as Gaulish and attribute them to the Morini.

"The silver coins belong to the Iceni, and are similar to those I described in the South Ferriby Find, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. viii (1908). They weigh 16·4 grains and 15·4 grains respectively. The obverses are plain and convex, and on the reverses, which are practically alike, the horse with the 'double horse collar' arrangement was moving to the left, thus differing from all the larger specimens in the above-mentioned find; the fore-legs were bifurcated to the knees, above the horse was a beaded ring-ornament, below it three pellets, and there was also a pellet below the thin rat-like tail.

"As far as I can ascertain this was the first published find of ancient British coins in the town of Peterborough, nor is the town mentioned by Sir John Evans in his list of places of discovery.

"I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. W. Bodger, the Honorary Secretary of the Peterborough Natural History, Scientific and Archæological Society for the loan of these coins and other exhibits."

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher.—Two specimens of the copper siege-piece of Cork issued in 1647.

Mr. F. Willson Yeates.—Die for Mossop's Medal of Dr. Quin, to which he added the following descriptive note :—

"The die now exhibited was that used for the obverse of the well-known and rare medal by William Mossop, senr., of Dr. Henry Quin.

"William Mossop was born in Dublin, 1751. In 1782 he produced his first medal, which was of Ryder, the comedian. In the same year he executed a medallion of 'Mr. and Mrs. Beresford.' These works attracted the notice of Dr. Quin, in whom Mossop found a friend and patron, and his third venture was the production, in 1783, of the die

now exhibited for the medal of that gentleman. The immediate occasion of this medal, according to the late Dean Dawson, whose collection of medals is now in the Royal Irish Academy, was as follows:—‘Robert Watson Wade, Esquire, First Clerk of the Treasury under William Burton Conyngham, Esquire, was affected with an internal complaint which had baffled the skill of the faculty in Dublin, but having fortunately called in Dr. Quin he obtained almost immediate relief, and as a token of gratitude presented him with this medal in gold, inscribed on the reverse “ob Sanitatem restitutam excudit R. W. Wade.”’ The obverse shows the head of the doctor to the right with the legend HENRICVS QUIN M.D. and below in small letters *W Mossop*. *F.* The die was eventually spoilt by a crack from the edge across the nose, eye, temple, and hair to the V of *Henricus*.

“A photograph of the medal appears in Messrs. Spink’s circular for September, 1907, in Mr. Forrer’s article on Mossop (column 10,069), and shows to advantage the beautiful workmanship of the artist. The photographed specimen was struck before the die was cracked, but it shows the failure of the two O’s in Mossop and a small indentation on the inner circle at the edge above the head.

“The marking of the head is well defined without being hard, and the hair is disposed in broad folds, giving to the whole an air of the antique. The medal met the approbation of the excellent judge whose portrait it gives and for whom it was executed. The zeal of Mossop’s friend Quin obtained several orders for medals, but he received little encouragement from the Irish public. An offer from Mr. Boulton for employment at the Soho factory was obtained by Dr. Quin, but Mossop declined it.

“About this period (1788) Dr. Quin died, and the gratitude of the artist was expressed by a medal bearing on the obverse the portrait of Dr. Quin, and on the reverse the following inscription engraved after it was struck:

'Sacred to the man who after finding out the author in obscurity led him into the profession of this polite art and became his patron, his friend, and his liberal benefactor, 1788.' Although the medallic works of Mossop are not numerous, they are interesting as the first of their kind produced in Ireland, and a lasting evidence of his natural ability in this department of art.

"Most of the above particulars are taken from a memoir prepared by the medallist, William Mossop, junr., which is published in Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, 1859. A chronological list of the twenty-six works of W. Mossop, senr., and of the twenty-five works of his son is given in the appendix to that work."

Mr. Henry Garside.—Silver rupee coined for British India, dated 1911, the obverse of which was designed by Mr. Bertram Mackennal and the reverse by Mr. Percy Brown, Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta.

British Imperial farthing in bronze, dated 1877. According to the Royal Mint *Report* farthings were not coined in that year.

Paper.

Mr. H. A. Parsons read the paper on "The Dunwich Mint," printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 20th, 1912.

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Dr. Algernon Archibald Payne, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., and Mr. Gordon Fraser were nominated for, and Mr. John Reilly, junr., was elected to membership.

Presentations.

Mr. James Coats, junr.—Burns's *Scottish Coinage*.

Mr. William Allen.—Medal struck in memory of his friend Dr. Joseph Joachim.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—Stephen. A penny and cut half-penny of the variety of *Hawkins* type 270, with *reverse*, **SANSON ON ANT** and voided cross moline.

A variety of *Hawkins* type 270, with a star before the sceptre and annulets in the quarters of the reverse cross; Durham Mint.

A penny of *Hawkins* type 259, of the Bedford Mint, with obverse legend **✠ HENRICV[S]**.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Noble of Henry IV. of the Calais Mint, weighing 119.4 grains, to which he added the note :—

“Only two other specimens of this ‘heavy’ noble are known, one being in the British Museum (from the Shepherd and Montagu collections) and the other—a much clipped coin—being in the Evans collection. The special features of the coin exhibited are the flag at the stem of the ship, denoting the Calais Mint, and the coronet mint-mark on the ship's rudder, which is also identified with the same mint. The French arms on the shield are semée de lys. The legend reads **DEI GRÆ**, whereas both the other known specimens read **DI GRÆ**.”

Major Jackson.—Coins of Madura and Tanjore in illustration of his paper.

Mr. William Charlton.—A series of gold, silver, and copper coins of Southern India.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—Forged rupee of William IV. in copper, showing traces of plating and of very rude native work; a copper trial piece and a proof in copper of the mohur of 1841.

Papers.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, in an address, continued his "Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen." He called attention to the fact that the existing coins of Stephen's regal type, *Hawkins* 269, were confined to mints which were, with very few exceptions, all to the east of a line drawn from York to Lewes, and he believed that their circulation was practically limited to that portion of England, for it was there that the strength of Stephen's party lay. The mints to the west must have then been issuing money either under the influence of Matilda's party or of that of the independent bishops and barons. The period would comprise the years 1142 to 1146, and of it he tentatively attributed *Hawkins* type 275 to Henry, Bishop of Winchester, the king's brother; *Hawkins* 272 to the Bishop of Exeter; and 273 and 274 also to the West of England. Treating the series bearing the name of Henry, and illustrated as *Hawkins* 259, he adduced evidence to prove that, with the possible exception of the Corbridge coin, which might well have been issued by Prince Henry of Scotland as Earl of Northumberland, the type could not have been current before 1142; and as in that year Henry Fitz-Empress, afterwards Henry II., arrived in England as a boy of ten years old, he believed it was commemorative of his advent, when, in consequence of the tendency of the Norman barons towards Salic principles, the cause of his mother, the Empress Matilda, was upon the wane. The geographical division of power and monetary circulation would explain the continuance, in those counties which were not under Stephen's authority, of the many varied types which seem to have had but a local issue, such, for example, as the pennies reading **ANT** struck by the Bishop of Winchester, which bore the name of a moneyer whom Mr. Andrew identified as "Sanson the moneyer" of the Winchester Roll of 1148.

Major R. P. Jackson contributed the paper which is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

April 24th, 1912.

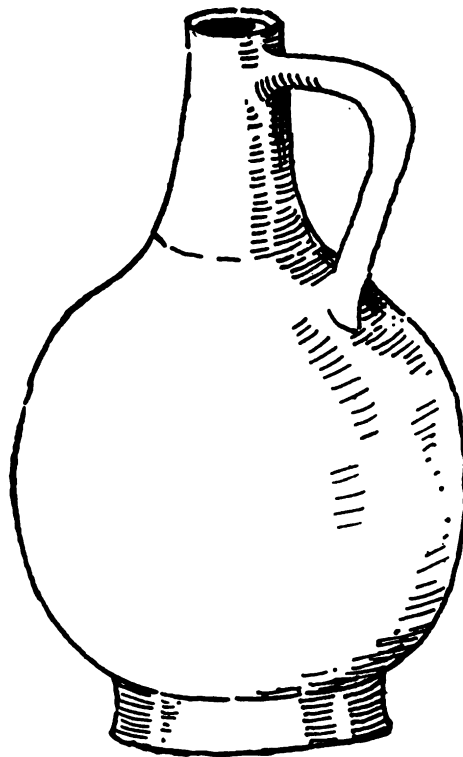
Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Dr. Algernon Archibald Payne and Mr. Gordon Fraser were elected Members.

Mr. J. B. S. MacIlwaine, Corresponding Member for Dublin, communicated the following account of a recent find of coins in County Kildare :—

“On the 26th of March, 1912, in Abbeylands, quite adjacent to the village of Abbeylex, a small jar containing coins was discovered by Mr. William Kinsella, the owner of the property, who kindly gave me the following particulars :—

“The find was about 2 feet deep in moory soil and the coins, which numbered 226, were of various denominations and contained in the jar illustrated here. As treasure trove, the find was handed over to the authorities and sent to Dublin. The Royal Irish Academy has added only one piece from it to their collection, namely, a specimen of the “Blacksmith” half-crown of Charles I. together with



SKETCH OF THE JAR IN WHICH THE
226 COINS WERE FOUND IN CO.
KILDARE, MARCH 26TH, 1912

the jar, which is of bellamine ware, but plain, as the usual face does not appear upon it. It is about 9 inches high, of dark buff to brown glaze and shaped as sketched.

“ ‘The coins, which were nearly all in poor condition, included—

“ ‘Edward VI. 2 shillings with English mint-marks, one bearing very small and neat letters and a double line on the reverse.

“ ‘Elizabeth. 31 shillings and 84 sixpences, hammered.

“ ‘Elizabeth. 1 sixpence milled, much worn, English.

“ ‘James I. 3 half-crowns, clipped and worn.

“ ‘James I. 9 shillings and 10 sixpences, English.

“ ‘James I. 7 sixpences, Irish.

“ ‘James VI. 1 quarter-thistle, Scottish.

“ ‘Charles I. 6 half-crowns, 9 shillings, and 6 sixpences, clipped and worn.

“ ‘Charles I. 1 Ormonde sixpence.

“ ‘Charles I. 1 half-crown of the “Blacksmith” type, Irish.

“ ‘45 portions of Spanish dollars current during the reign of Philip and Mary, much clipped and worn.

“ ‘10 French coins, including one of Louis XIII. and four of Henry IV., all worn and clipped.

“ ‘I have to thank the Keeper and his Assistant at the Irish Section of the National Museum for allowing me to inspect the find.’ ”

Presentation.

Mr. Arthur Pierce.—An original edict by Charles III. of Spain concerning the assay.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Shirley - Fox.—Henry VI. groat, half-groat, penny, and half-penny of the Calais Mint, bearing a leaf upon the king's chest and after the word **ANUSIA** in the legend.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—A series of early American and Canadian coins in illustration of Dr. Nelson's paper.

Mr. Edward Wooler.—Six specimens of the large find of circular pieces resembling worn shillings without device recently discovered at Darlington whilst a road was being widened. Various suggestions to explain the hoard had been made, including the theory that they were siege-pieces of the wars of Charles I.'s time. The pieces, however, were machine turned of plain surface and of very debased silver, if not of billon; which rendered that suggestion impossible. It was explained by Mr. Fentiman that they were probably a forger's hoard intended to pass for shillings of the very worn order circulating in the Georgian period. Subsequently Mr. Oswald Fitch identified scraps of the printed paper in which they had been wrapped as of George III.'s time.

Mr. H. Fentiman, for Mr. S. M. Spink, exhibited the following rare coins in illustration of Dr. Nelson's paper.—The New England shilling, the Massachusetts pine-tree shilling of 1652, also the oak-tree shilling, sixpence, threepence, and twopence, the Lord Baltimore shilling of 1660 and the sixpence, James II.'s tin plantation money, Wood's "Rosa Americana" twopence and penny 1722, twopence, penny, and halfpenny 1723, and the Virginia halfpenny of 1773.

Paper.

Dr. P. Nelson contributed a treatise on "The Pre-Revolutionary Coinage of America," in which he explained in detail the series of coins beginning with the ryal of Elizabeth, bearing a legend which refers to the colonization of Virginia by Raleigh in 1584, and closing with the halfpence and farthings of 1773 and 1774, the latest issues prior to the Declaration of Independence.

ORDINARY MEETING.

May 22nd, 1912.

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The President referred in feeling terms to the death of King Frederick VIII. of Denmark, one of the Royal Members of the Society, and reported that he had conveyed to the Members of the Danish Royal Family, through the Danish Minister, the Society's deep regret at the sad occurrence.

Messrs. Banister Flight Fletcher, F.R.Hist.S., and Herbert Stroud were nominated for membership.

Exhibitions.

Mr. H. W. Taffs.—A gold ingot, or plate, issued from the Adelaide mint in 1852, and stamped with a crown over the initials SA for South Australia. Its weight was also stamped upon it as 5 dwts. of $23\frac{1}{8}$ cts., and its issue was due to and significant of the then "gold rush."

A variety, differing in the stops and other minor details from the usual Bermuda penny of 1793.

A curious "mule" struck from the obverse die of the Sierra Leone penny and the reverse die of the $\frac{1}{48}$ th of the Madras rupee.

A "mule" composed from two obverse dies of the double pice of Bombay for 1804.

A sixpence of George III. countermarked with a crown, probably for Tobago.

A proof in silver of the Indian quarter-anna of 1900.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Three copper coins of Carausius and one of Maximian, found at Dorchester, namely :—

Carausius. *Reverse*.—A lion, or possibly a hyena, standing to left, legend SAECVLVM AVG. In exergue M.C.

Carausius. *Reverse*.—TEMPORVM FELICIT, female figure, standing, with cornucopiæ and standard.

Carausius. *Reverse*.—MONETA AVG.

Maximian. *Reverse*.—PAX AVG.G.G. MLXXI. struck by Carausius in England.

Mr. Shirley-Fox.—Edward III. A variety of the treaty groat of the period 1360–1369, bearing several points connecting it with the previous issue, such as the Roman **N** instead of the Lombardic. The legend read **D•G** instead of **DEI•G**, and its stops were single instead of the usual double annulets.

A groat of the same period bearing the same stops, but otherwise normal.

Dr. Philip Nelson.—A tin farthing of James II. dated 1690, bearing a variation of the usual floral ornament. Also an example from the usual dies for comparison.

Paper.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott gave an address upon the coins and tokens of the British possessions and colonies, in which he urged the necessity for a new and standard work treating that branch of numismatics upon comprehensive and modern lines. In support of his argument he instanced from his own collection alone how numerous were the errors and omissions in the old text-books, to which students were still forced to refer for their only information.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 26th, 1912.

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Messrs. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill and Martin von Berg were nominated for, and Messrs. Banister Flight Fletcher, F.R.Hist.S., and Herbert Stroud were elected to membership.

Presentation.

Mr. H. St. George Gray.—*The Gold Torque found at Yeovil*, by the Donor.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Shirley-Fox.—Edward III. A half-groat with open **€** on both sides; pellet stops, thus, **POS • V • DEV •** and **• ADIVT**. The reverse is from the same die as that of the pied-fort figured in the Montagu Sale Catalogue.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Henry VI. Calais pennies of the various coinages of Henry VI., namely, (1) "The early annulet," (2) "The late annulet," with one annulet only on the reverse, (3) "The annulet-rosette," (4) "The rosette-mascle," omitting the rosette on the obverse, (5) "The rosette-mascle," (6) Obverse plain, reverse with the rosette, (7) "The pinecone mascle."

Mr. Henry Symonds.—James I. Shilling of the second issue with mint-mark lys.

Irish shilling of the second issue with mint-marks, obverse, escallop, and reverse, rose.

Half-groat with mint-mark spur rowel.

Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.—Varieties of the silver coinage of James I. as described in his paper printed in this volume.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—James I. Contemporary forgery in copper of a shilling of the second issue, the inscription being in reverse. Mr. Ogden inferred from the imperfect punctuation and rude form of the lettering that it was of foreign work.

Paper.

Mr. Henry Symonds read the paper on the coinage of James I. as recorded in the trials of the pyx, which is printed in this volume.

Lt.-Col. Morrieson followed with a supplement to his treatise on the silver coins of James I., also printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

July 24th, 1912.

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The President read the nomination by the Council of Admiral His Serene Highness Prince Louis Alexander of Battenberg, G.C.B., as an Honorary Member. Mr. Grant Richardson Francis was nominated for, and Messrs. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill and Martin von Berg were elected to membership.

Exhibitions.

Mr. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.—Medallion of Commodus.
Obverse.—M COMMODVS ANTONINVS AUG PIVS BRIT, laureated

bust to right. *Reverse*.—PM TRPX IMP VII COS III PP. Jupiter semi-nude to right, holding sceptre and leaning on a circle in which are four figures representing the four seasons; in front a figure holding a cornucopiæ. Recently found at York, Æ. Gnechi, *I. Medaglioni Romani*, iii, p. 60, No. 75, Plate 83, 3. Cohen, 392, 474.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Bronze uniface medal of Queen Mary I., by Jacob Da Trezzo of Milan. *Obverse*.—MARIA .I. REG · ANGL · FRANC · ET · HIB FIDEI. DEFENSATRIX.

Paper.

Mr. Bernard Roth read the paper on "Ancient Gaulish Coins" printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 23rd, 1912.

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Mrs. W. J. Andrew, Mrs. Eustace Smith, and Messrs. Frederick William Bowman and John Alexander Symington were nominated for, and Mr. Grant Richardson Francis was elected to membership.

Messrs. H. W. Taffs and E. Shepherd were appointed Auditors of the Accounts for the session.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—An inscribed bronze coin of the Brigantes, with the following notes:—

"This specimen was ploughed up on the moor at North Kelsey, Lincolnshire, in the year 1879. It weighs 60·5 grains and corresponds almost exactly with the gold staters,

Evans, Plate XVII, No. 5, weighing from 80 to 85 grains. *Obverse*.—Uninscribed; a wreath of rectangular leaves running in opposite directions from near the centre of the coin, is crossed by a line with a thin crescent at each end clasping a ring beaded at intervals, and with a pellet in the centre; on each side of the wreath is a dolphin-like figure, similar to those I described as 'notes of interrogation enclosing a pellet,' in my paper on the South Ferriby Hoard of gold and silver Brigantes coins, and published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, IVth Series, vol. viii. *Reverse*.—The legends VEP and CORF lie respectively above and below a much disjointed horse moving to the left, the neck and chest segments of the horse (see diagram in paper just quoted) diverging below, are united above very near the head; the fore-legs are separated from the trunk, while the hind-legs are attached to the extremity of the segment representing the loins. The V and E of the upper legend are linked together in monogram and the loop of the P is incomplete. The tail of the horse, springing from the middle of the convexity of the segment for the loins, must not be mistaken for an additional letter—I.

"The letters C and O are much smaller than the R and F in the CORF legend. So far, no explanation of these legends has been forthcoming. Sir John Evans says, p. 412 of his *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 'I have another specimen of this type, found at Cirencester, of such base metal as to have been much corroded and covered with green rust. It has, in part, all the appearance of being a brass coin and its weight is only 61 grains.' The coin I exhibit is undoubtedly brass or bronze and has a fine patina and only weighs half a grain less than that specimen."

Mr. Herbert Druitt.—A small ingot of debased gold in the shape of a conical bullet and similar in form to the silver ingot found at Avondale and intended for coining.

A penny of Henry III. illustrating the extreme extent to

which clipping was then carried. Both exhibitions were found at Christchurch, Hants.

Mr. J. B. S. MacIlwaine.—Varieties of Hiberno-Danish pennies in continuation of Mr. Roth's paper in vol. vi of the *Journal*, namely :—

1. *Obverse*.—As No. 177. *Reverse*.—As No. 177, but only one pellet in opposite quarters ; 6 grains.

2. *Obverse*.—As No. 177, but a line round the head at the extremity of the hair. *Reverse*.—As 177 ; 6 grains.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Henry IV. A groat of an early obverse "muled" with a late reverse. Some features of the latter, viz., the mint-mark cross voided and pierced and the presence of a single saltire, instead of two, after the mint-name "London," are new varieties.

A medal or badge of Monck, Duke of Albemarle, being a variant of the known specimens, Monck's name and title not appearing on the obverse, and the laurel border being of different design. Silver.

A portrait medallion of Henry of Bourbon, Prince of Condé ; reverse, his arms, engraved in the style of Simon Passe. Silver.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—A political penny token, being *Atkins*, Hampshire, No. 3.

The original drawing for the penny token of Henry Young, dealer in coins, 18, Ludgate Street, London, with a specimen of the token, dated 1794, and another after a die-flaw had occurred.

Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.—A badly centred penny of 1900 received in currency.

Paper.

Mr. W. J. Andrew read a paper on our early money, which raised the question of the respective dates of the introduction of the silver

penny, halfpenny, and farthing, the main points of which are included in the section of his "Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen," printed in vol. viii of this *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING.

November 30th, 1912.

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Admiral His Serene Highness Prince Louis Alexander of Battenberg, G.C.B., was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

Mrs. Shirley-Fox and Mr. Joseph Young were nominated for, and Mrs. W. J. Andrew, Mrs. Eustace Smith, and Messrs. Frederick William Bowman and John Alexander Symington were elected to membership.

Presentations.

Mr. H. St. George Gray.—"Report of the Coroner's Inquest and a paper concerning the Gold Torque found at Yeovil in 1909," by the Donor.

H.M. The King of Italy.—*Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, vol. iii.

Exhibitions.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Henry VII. An angel of a distinctly intermediate type between the first and second types.

Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.—Charles I. Coins of the Aberystwyth Mint, namely, five half-crowns, eight shillings, and seven sixpences, to illustrate the sequence of the coinage of those denominations.

Mr. Frank Drew.—A pair of large engraved portraits of Charles I. and his Consort, which Miss Farquhar identified as being by Pieter de Jode, of Antwerp, from the original pictures by Van Dyck now at Longford Castle.

Mr. H. W. Taffs.—Charles II. A farthing of very light weight, namely, $36\frac{1}{2}$ grains, whereas the standard farthing, which he also exhibited for comparison, weighed about $83\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher.—A quarter- and a half-anna of Bhartpur, one of the Native States of Rajputana, with the head of Queen Victoria and issued in 1858.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Council's Report.

The President read the Council's Report as follows :—

REPORT.

The Council has the honour to present its Ninth Annual Report. On November 30th, 1911, the Society consisted of 20 Royal, 16 Honorary, and 477 Ordinary Members, the total being 513.

During the year 1912 the Society has suffered the loss of one of its Royal Members, H.M. the late King Frederick VIII. of Denmark, who was amongst the first of the sovereigns of Europe to honour the Society by their appreciation of its efforts.

The Council also deeply regrets the decease of the seven following Members :—Lt.-Col. Sir Horatio David Davies, K.C.M.G., Mons. Charles C. de Brix, Dr. Andrew Lang, Messrs. Herbert Jordan Adams, John B. Broün-Morrison, Joseph Mitchelson, and F. Stroud, Recorder of Tewkesbury.

The list of Honorary Members is reduced by the retirement from this country of His Excellency Count Paul Wolff-Metternich, the German Ambassador.



SERENISSIMVS ET POTENTISSIMVS PRINCEPS
CAROLVS I.
 DEI GRATIA
 MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX.

ILLVSTRIS ET REVERENDIS. DOMINO D. CAROLO VANDEN BOSCH, EX BRVGensi GANDAVENSIVM EPISCOPO
 Comiti Evergemensi, Domini Sacri Palatii Toparche, Regis Cathol. Maiestati a Consilio et cetera. Summo omnium Bonarum Artium et
 Elegantiarum estimatori et Fautori. Iconem hanc. Lub. Mer. Dedebat Math. Antonius Civis Antwerp

Reduced from the large engraving in the Collection of Mr. Frank Drew. Size $\frac{1}{2}$.

Nineteen members have resigned from the Society during the year, namely :—

Professor Samuel H. Cox,
Mrs. William W. Jacomb,
The Chetham Library, Man-
chester,
Messrs. Edgar H. Adams,
Edwin B. Chancellor, M.A.,
George C. Griffiths,
Herbert Hill,
Alfred B. Jacobs,
William Lurcott,

Messrs. J. Francis Mallett,
H. D. McEwen,
Edward Moore,
George Patrick,
Alfred R. Peacey,
William Pierson,
John Sheer,
Samuel S. Stanley,
Henry L. Waddington, and
W. F. Whetstone,

and six have ceased to be Members under Section III of Chapter IV of the Rules.

On the other hand, it is the pleasure of the Council to announce that Admiral His Serene Highness Prince Louis Alexander of Battenberg, whose interest in numismatics is so well known, has been appointed an Honorary Member of the Society and that the 21 following Members have joined the Society :—

Mrs. W. J. Andrew,
The Rev. W. A. Laughlin, M.A.,
Ph.D.,
The Joseph Mitchelson Collec-
tion, Connecticut State Library,
Mrs. Eustace Smith,
Messrs. Frederick William Bow-
man,
Stewart Algernon Clarke,
T. B. Clarke-Thornhill,
Grant Richardson Francis,
Herbert Jesse Farrow,
Banister Flight Fletcher,
F.R.Hist.S.,

Messrs. Gordon Fraser,
Algernon Archibald Payne,
L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.,
William H. Quarrell, M.A.,
F.S.A.,
John Reilly, junr.,
John Henry Searcy,
Herbert Stroud,
John Alexander Symington,
Alfred Tarver,
Martin von Berg,
Guernsey W. Webb, and
Lionel Arthur Woodward.

SUMMARY.

	<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Honorary.</i>	<i>Ordinary.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
30th November, 1911 ...	20	16	477	513
Since elected	—	1	21	22
	20	17	498	535
Deceased	1	—	7	8
Resigned	—	1	19	20
Amoved	—	—	6	6
30th November, 1912 ...	19	16	466	501

The Society is therefore 34 below its full strength, a condition which would not exist if the Members, generally, would unite with the Council in introducing its *Journal* and objects to those who are interested in the coinage and history of this country and of the dominions beyond the seas.

The most pleasing incident of the year has been the gift of a thousand-franc note to the Research Fund by our Vice-President Mr. John Sanford Saltus as, to use his own words, "A Whitsuntide Gift." Thus for three consecutive years Mr. Saltus has most generously endowed the Society. Last year he placed the same Fund upon a substantial basis by a contribution of £150, and in 1910 founded the Society's Gold Medal, which the Council, not he, suggested should be named after him, by a donation of £200. The Members will join the Council in expressing their unanimous appreciation of this munificent support.

Although this is but its Ninth Annual Report the Council may congratulate the Members upon the financial position of the Society for it has now, apart from the value of its library and collections

investments representing over £1,000. During eight of these years it has had the advantage of the presidency of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, and it is primarily due to his methods of management that this satisfactory result has been achieved. A factor in economics for which the Society has also to thank him, coupled in this instance with his partner Mr. Lumb, is the continued free use of its suite of apartments at 43, Bedford Square.

The general ballot for the Second Award of "The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal" resulted in favour of Miss Helen Farquhar, a Vice-President of the Society, for her contributions to the *Journal*, intituled "Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs upon their Coins and Medals." Miss Farquhar joined the Society at its initiation as its first lady member, and no pen has been more prolific than hers in the pages of the *Journals*. Her methods of literature are strictly historical, and for every statement she makes she gives the contemporary authority, a system which discloses endless research of original matter. The Council congratulates her upon her deserved success.

The work of the Research Fund is steadily being continued under the competent direction of Mr. H. B. Earle Fox and Mr. Shirley-Fox, with most valuable results towards the elucidation of mint affairs during Plantagenet and Tudor times.

To Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Shirley-Fox thanks are due for their management of the Lantern Slide Fund, by which the Society has now a representative assortment of slides suitable for the illustration of papers upon general numismatics.

Remarks have already been made upon the satisfactory condition of the capital of the Society, but to Mr. A. C. Hutchins, F.C.A., as Treasurer, every credit is due for the care and ability he devotes to the management of its receipts, expenditure and investments; for at every meeting of the Society a complete and detailed statement of the financial position to that date is submitted. To Mr. Edward Shepherd and Mr. H. W. Taffs the members will accord their thanks for performing their duties as Auditors.

The efforts of Lt.-Col. Morrieson, the Librarian, to establish a library worthy of the Society deserve especial recognition, because he

is in charge of what is undoubtedly a very difficult department of the Society's enterprise. Nevertheless, so far as is possible with the limited funds at his disposal, he is making steady progress towards that object, and your Council trusts that in the near future his enterprise may be rewarded by more generous support. In this relation it is pleasing to report the gift to the Society by His Majesty the King of Italy, one of our Royal Members, of three handsome volumes comprising the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, a work for which he is personally to be accredited.

Vol. viii of the *Journal* is now placed upon the table, and the Council hopes that in the opinion of Members it will do justice to its series. The coloured plate which it contains is the gift of Miss Farquhar, being the second which she has contributed to the *Journal*, and the Editors, Mr. W. J. Andrew and Mr. Carlyon-Britton, call attention to it as a remarkable example of modern art, a comparison with the original proving it to be an exact reproduction of an old portrait on copper, for which every credit is due to our printers, Messrs. Harrison & Sons.

The attendance at the Meetings has continued to prove the general interest of Members in these gatherings and in the papers contributed by authors, which have fully maintained the prestige of the Society. The exhibitions have been of a varied and most interesting order, and the donations to the library and collections of a liberal character. Our thanks are due to each and every one who has thus kindly contributed to the progress of our common cause.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

Papers.

Short papers were read by Lt.-Col. Morrieson, on a series of coins of Charles I., illustrating the sequence at the Aberystwyth mint; by Mr. F. A. Walters, on an angel of Henry VII. intermediate between the first and second types; and by Mr. J. B. S. MacIlwaine, on certain peculiarities on pennies of William I. issued at Exeter and Cricklade.

Mr. W. J. Andrew illustrated by a photographic lantern slide the identity of design and detail of the Hand of Providence issuing from clouds over the large Saxon crucifix at Romsey Abbey with the same design on the coins of Æthelred II., suggesting that it was copied from the money whilst still current, *circa* A.D. 1015.

Treasurer's Report.

Copies of the Audited Balance Sheet having been distributed amongst the Members present, the Treasurer proceeded to explain the various items and to summarize the Society's financial position.

The Balance Sheet was passed as presented, and a vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to Mr. A. C. Hutchins.

Ballot for the election of Officers and Council for the year 1913.

Mr. W. Carlyon-Britton and Mr. J. L. Acton Pile were appointed Scrutators, and at the close of the ballot reported that the Officers and Members of the Council as set forth in the list recommended by the Council had been duly elected.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—SESSION 1913.

President :—P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq., F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

Vice-Presidents :—Miss Helen Farquhar ; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. ; L. A. Lawrence, Esq., F.S.A. ; Philip Nelson, Esq., M.D., F.S.A. ; Bernard Roth, Esq., F.S.A., J.P. ; J. Sanford Saltus, Esq.

Director :—J. S. Shirley-Fox, Esq., R.B.A.

Treasurer :—Alexander C. Hutchins, Esq., F.C.A.

Librarian :—Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, late R.A., F.S.A.

Secretary :—W. J. Andrew, Esq., F.S.A.

Council :—P. J. D. Baldwin, Esq. ; Thomas Bearman, Esq. ; William Dale, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S. ; G. Thorn Drury, Esq., B.A. ; Oswald Fitch, Esq., F.G.S. ; Lionel L. Fletcher, Esq. ; The Right Hon. the Lord Grantley, F.S.A., D.L., J.P. ; Mellor Lumb, Esq. ; William Sharp Ogden, Esq., F.S.A. ; The Right Hon. the Lord Peckover of Wisbech, LL.D., F.S.A., F.L.S. ; Edward Shepherd, Esq. ; W. Beresford Smith, Esq. ; Samuel M. Spink, Esq. ; Henry Symonds, Esq., F.S.A. ; Frederick A. Walters, Esq., F.S.A.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1912.

Dr.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	<i>Income.</i>	Cr.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To printing and binding the 1911 <i>Journal</i> , including reprints, plates, blocks, and expenses of distribution	... 407 14 0	By subscriptions	... 473 9 0
„ printing and stationery	... 15 13 11	„ admission fees	... 14 14 0
„ postages	... 22 9 6	„ subscriptions compounded	... 30 0 0
„ expenses of Meetings	... 8 9 10		— 518 3 0
„ reports of Meetings	... 5 15 0	„ dividends and interest	... 21 19 9
„ sundry expenses	... 3 0 0		
„ secretarial fee	... 52 10 0		
„ clerk to Council's fee	... 10 10 0		
	Total ... 526 2 3		
„ balance, being surplus of income over expenditure	14 0 6		
	£540 2 9		£540 2 9

BALANCE SHEET, November 18th, 1912.

Dr.	Cr.
VOL IX.	
To sundry liabilities	£ s. d. £ s. d.
" subscriptions received in advance ...	392 18 9
" <i>J. Sanford Salus Medal Fund—</i>	23 8 0
Capital account (per contra) ... 161 16 2	
Less Dr. Balance on Income	
account 4 19 3	156 16 11
" <i>Research Fund—</i>	
Balance from last account ... 157 11 11	
Add subscriptions ... 66 10 6	
Interest and Dividends ... 5 1 2	
" <i>Accumulated Fund—</i>	
Balance from 1911 account ... 661 8 1	
Surplus for 1912 ... 14 0 6	675 8 7
	£1,477 15 10
	Investments—
Accumulated Fund	
£150 Consols at cost ...	644 8 0
<i>J. Sanford Salus Medal Fund—</i>	
India 3½ per cent. Stock (per	
contra)	161 16 2
Research Fund—	
India 3½ per cent. Stock ...	200 0 0
	1,006 4 2
	<i>Lantern-Slide Fund—</i>
Expenditure during year ...	4 18 2
Less Balance in hand from last	
account	3 18 2
	Subscriptions outstanding ...
	Dividends and interest accrued due ...
	Library, at cost ...
	Cash on hand—
At bank—on deposit ...	200 0 0
do. on current account ...	149 8 6
	349 8 6
	£1,477 15 10

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with, and report to the Members that we have examined and compared the above accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, as shown by the books of the Society.

November 27th, 1912.

H. W. TAFFS,
 EDWARD SHEPHERD, } Auditors.

The British Numismatic Society.

PATRON: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

ROYAL MEMBERS.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS HENRY OF BATTENBERG.

In Alphabetical Order.

HIS MAJESTY ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN LOUISE OF DENMARK.
HIS MAJESTY CONSTANTINE, KING OF THE HELLENES.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII., KING OF NORWAY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SPAIN.
HIS MAJESTY KING MANUEL II.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

In Order of Election.

- SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 61, Warwick Square, London, S.W.
- FIELD-MARSHAL THE RIGHT HON. EARL ROBERTS, V.C., K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., O.M., P.C., R.A., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Litt., Englemere, Ascot.
- THE RIGHT HON. THE COUNTESS OF YARBOROUGH, BARONESS FAUCONBERG, BARONESS CONYERS, Brocklesbury Park, Lincolnshire, and 17, Arlington Street, London, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS DE SOVERAL, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Abercorn House, Richmond, Surrey.
- HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE LALAING, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the King of the Belgians, 15, West Halkin Street, London, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT ALBERT MENSENDORFF-POUILLY-DIETRICHSTEIN, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, 18, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR PAUL CAMBON, G.C.V.O., French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, Albert Gate House, London, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY BARON GERIQUE VAN HERWIJNEN, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the Queen of the Netherlands, 8, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE BENCKENDORFF, Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, Chesham House, Chesham Place, London, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY BARON DE BILDT, late Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the King of Sweden, 59 and 60, Jermyn Street, London, S.W.
- VERNON HORACE RENDALL, Esq., B.A., Editor of the *Athenæum*, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London.
- HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR GASTON CARLIN, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of the Republic of Switzerland, 3, Portland Place, London, W.
- ALFRED ANSCOMBE, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 30, Albany Road, Stroud Green, London, N.
- HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS GUGLIELMO IMPERIALI, Italian Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, 20, Grosvenor Square, London, W.
- ADMIRAL HIS SERENE HIGHNESS PRINCE LOUIS ALEXANDER OF BATTENBERG, The Mall House, Spring Gardens, London, S.W.

MEMBERS.¹

*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

- *^a ABABRELTON, ROBERT, Esq., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S. (Post Box, 322, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa), 30, Killyon Road, Clapham Rise, London, S.W.
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